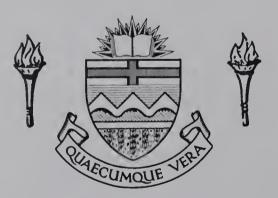
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REFERENCE RELATIONSHIPS AND WOMEN'S ROLE PREFERENCE

by



Sharon M. Abu-Laban

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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OF MASTER OF ARTS

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Reference Relationships and Women's Role Preference" submitted by Sharon M. Abu-Laban in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

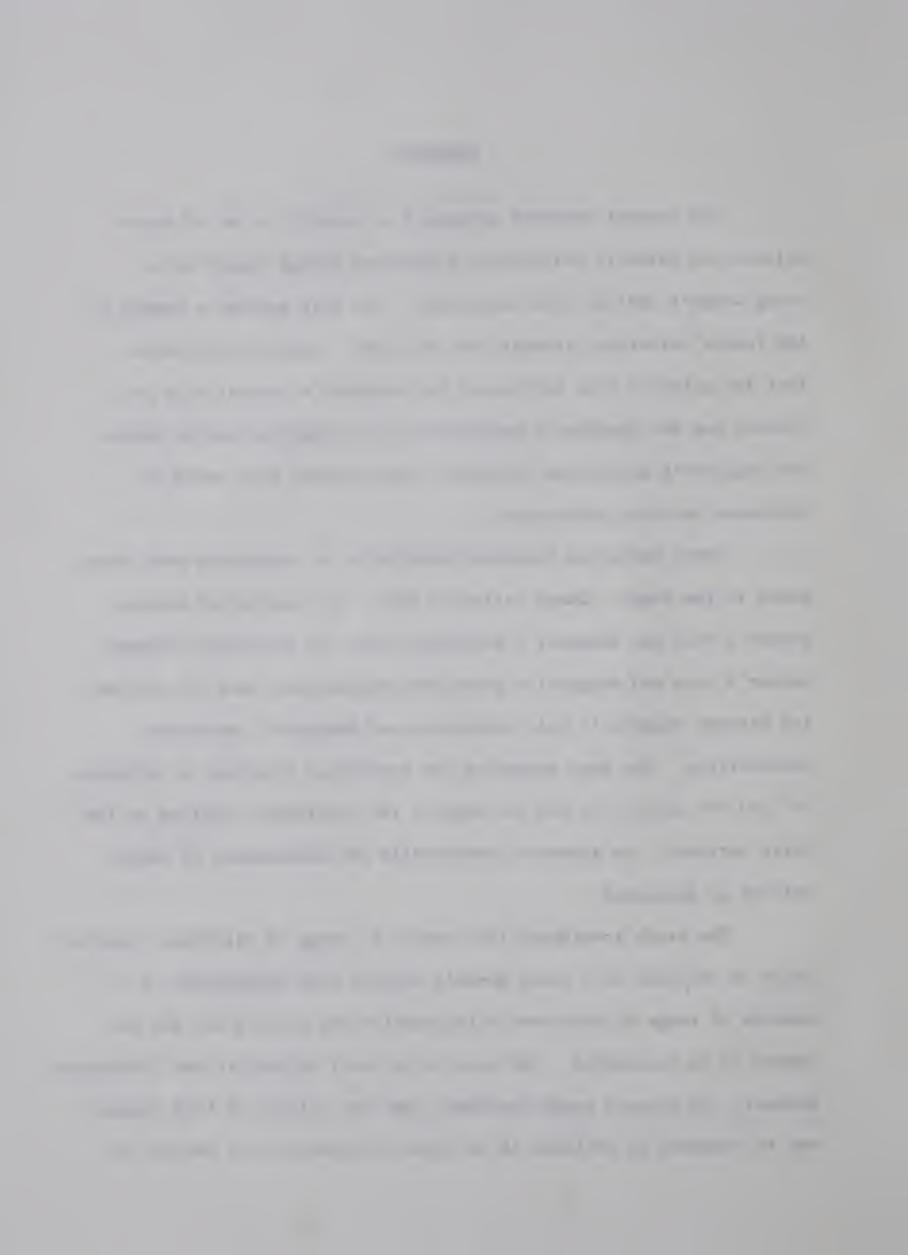


ABSTRACT

The present research attempted to identify a set of interrelated and mutually reinforcing conditions having impact on a young woman's marital role preference. For this purpose a sample of 408 female university students was selected. Analysis indicated that the mother's role influenced her daughter's marital role preference and her daughter's perception of the expectations of others. The daughter's perception of others' expectations also acted to influence her role preference.

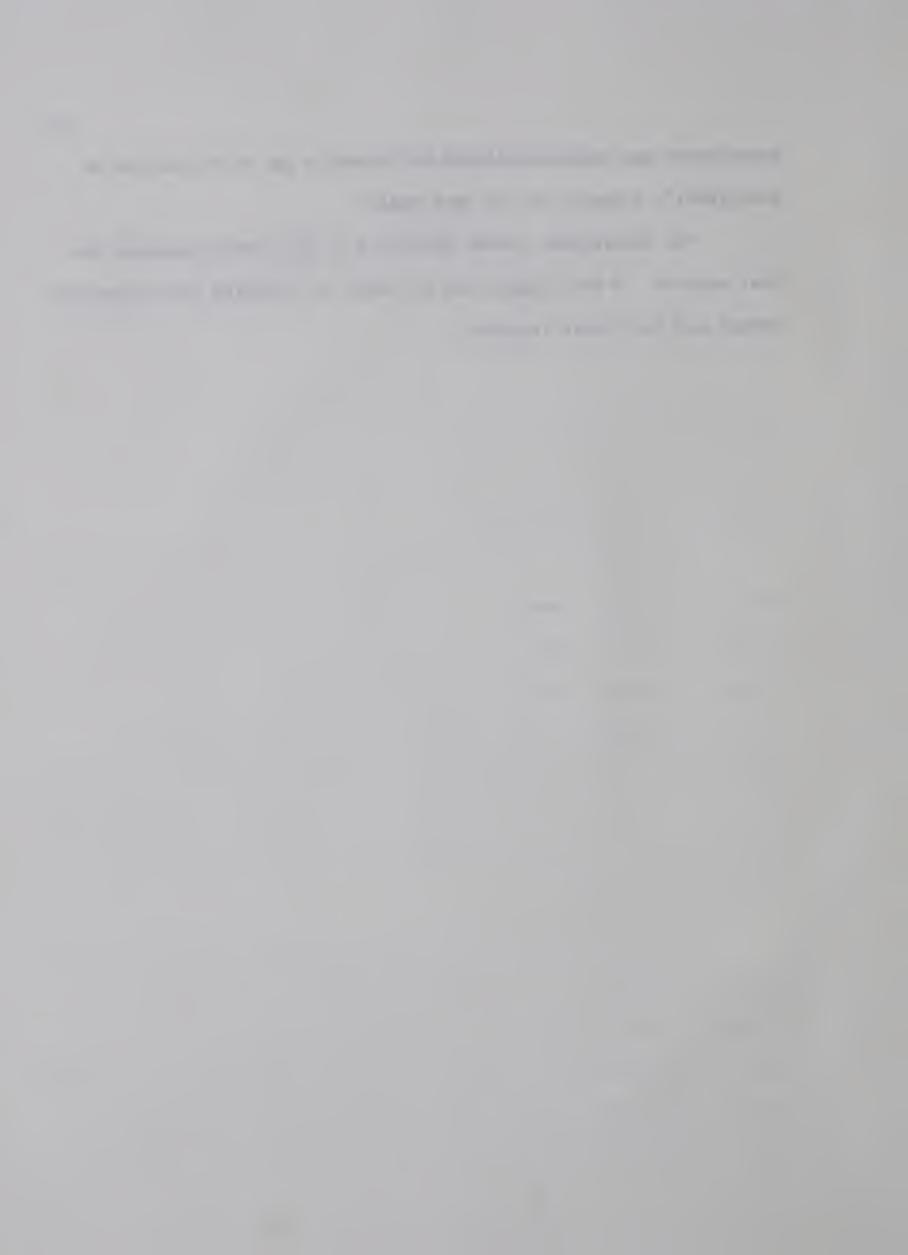
Three variables involving similarity or congruence were introduced in the study. These variables were: (a) similarity between mother's role and daughter's preferred role, (b) similarity between mother's role and daughter's perceived expectations, and (c) similarity between daughter's role preference and daughter's perceived expectations. The data supported the hypotheses relating to variables "a" and "b" above, but did not support the hypotheses relating to the third variable. An apparent problem with the measurement of expectations is discussed.

The study considered the concept of range of reference relationships as relevant to a young woman's marital role preference. A measure of range of reference relationships was devised but did not appear to be successful. The term is not well defined in the literature. However, the present study concludes that the utility of this concept may be enhanced by defining it in terms of exposure to a variety of



experiences and operationalizing it in such a way as to include an individual's exposure to the mass media.

The theoretical scheme developed in this study received partial support. A few suggestions are made for refining the theoretical scheme and for future research.



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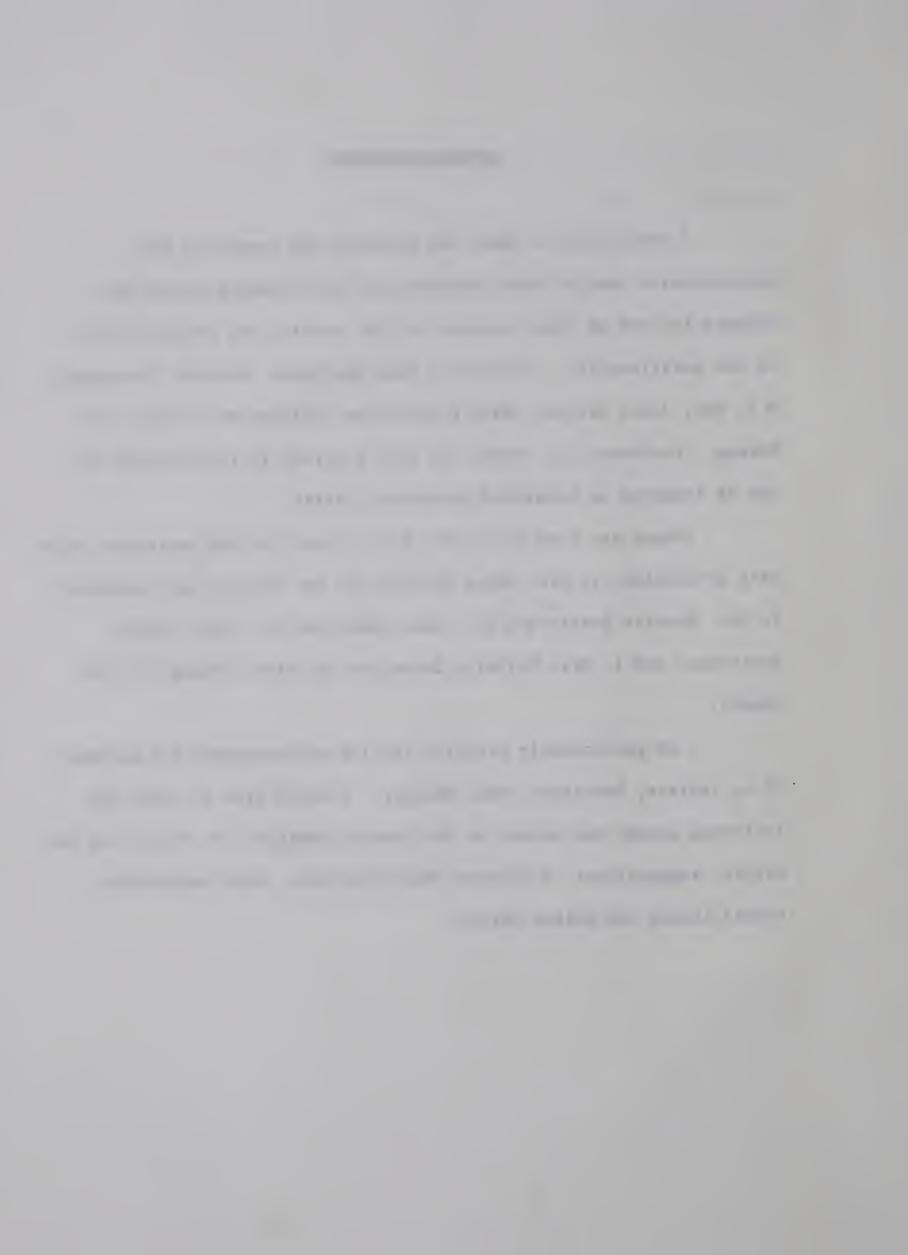
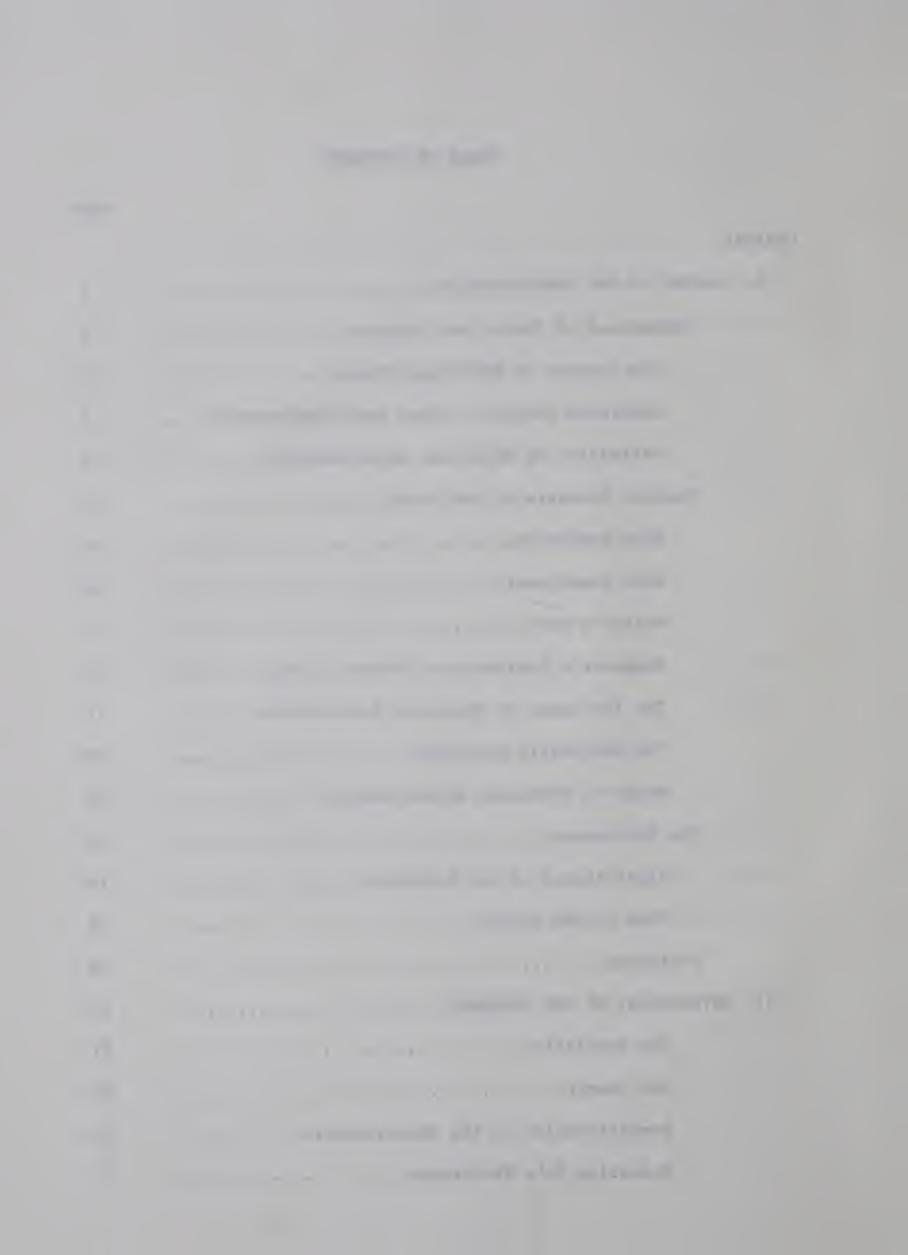
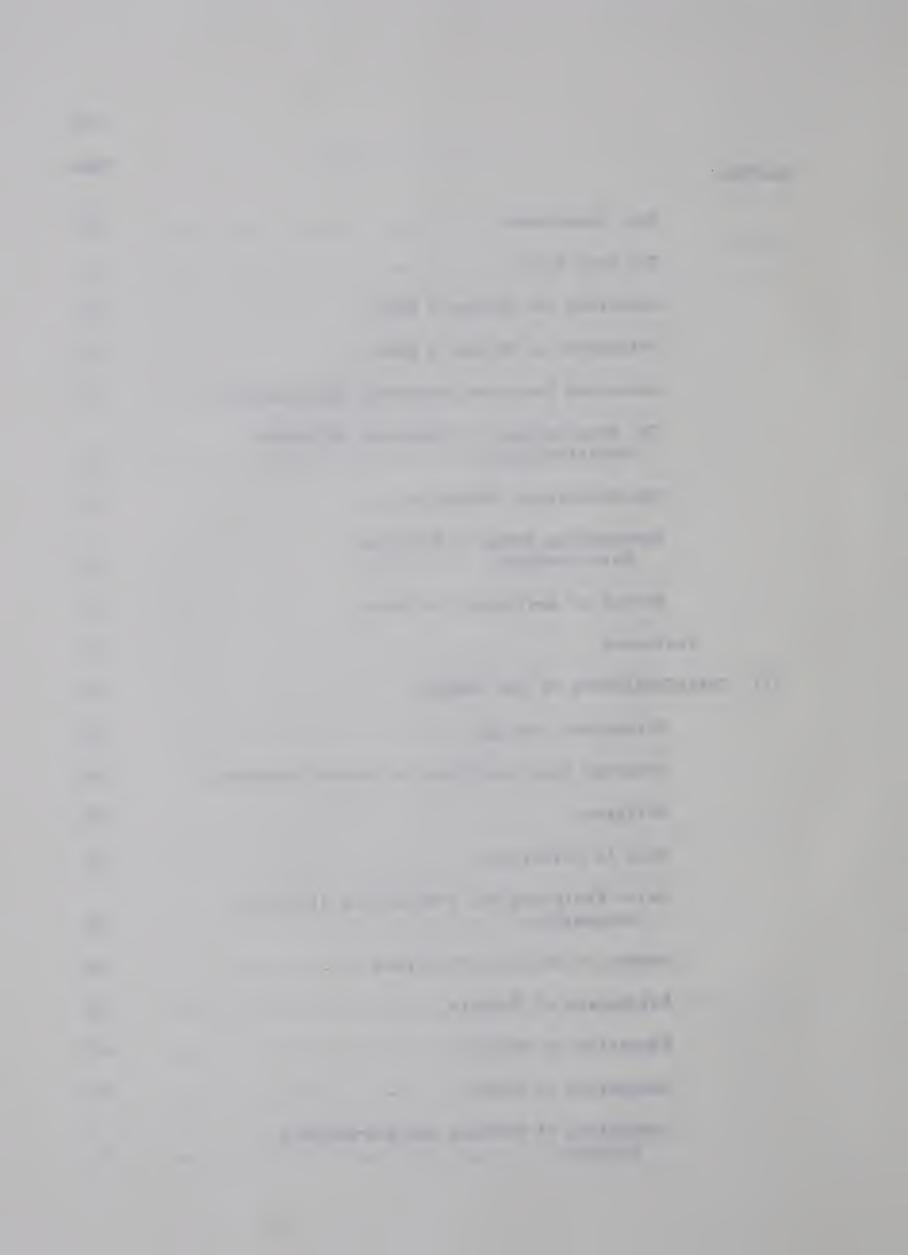


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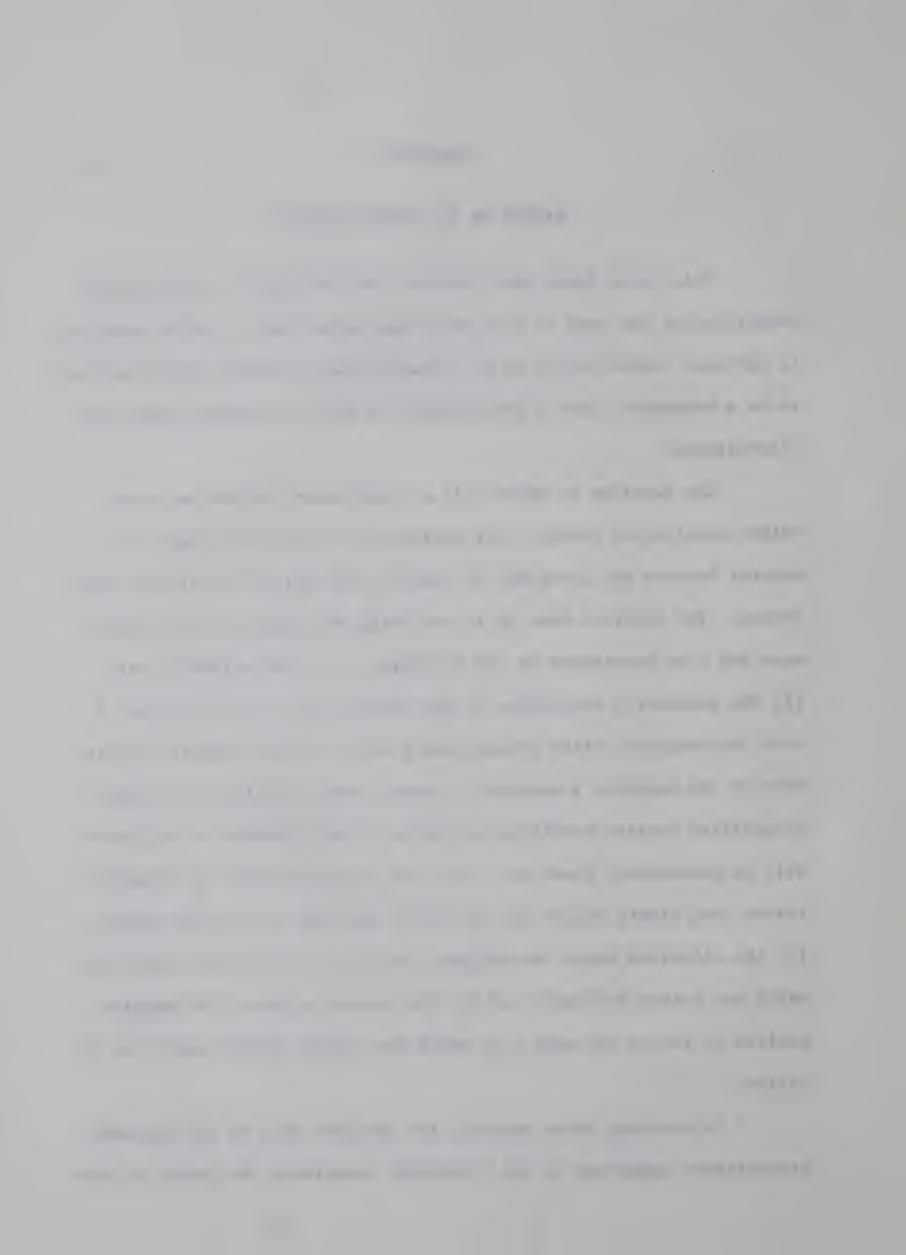
CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE INVESTIGATION

This study deals with factors contributing to a young woman's definition of the type of role which she would like to follow when she is married. Specifically we are concerned with whether she would like to be a homemaker, have a job outside the home, or combine these two alternatives.

The question of which role a young woman prefers may seem rather simplistic, however, her preference reflects the impact of several factors and groupings of factors with which this study is concerned. The interest here is in analyzing the impact on role preference and role commitment of the following: (1) the mother's role, (2) the daughter's evaluation of her mother's role, (3) the type of role the daughter thinks others expect her to follow, and (4) the extent of the daughter's exposure to people whose opinions she values. In addition certain conditions acting as reinforcements on attitudes will be considered. These are: (a) the situation where the daughter thinks that others expect her to follow the same role as her mother, (b) the situation where the daughter prefers to follow the same role which her mother followed, and (c) the situation where the daughter prefers to follow the same role which she thinks others expect her to follow.

In studying these factors, the research will be testing some propositions suggested in the literature concerning the impact of per-



ceived expectations, range or extent of reference relationships and the influence of the mother as a model for the daughter. The theoretical perspective assumed is that of reference group theory.

Background of Theory and Research

The concept of reference groups. The proposition that men define the world from standpoints peculiar to groups to which they belong has long been held in sociology and anthropology. Reference group theory acts as a refinement of this basic idea by recognizing that men may be influenced both by membership and by non-membership groups and by recognizing that men may internalize values from conflicting groups. The latter is particularly true in complex societies which have multiple and frequently competing types of groups and associations.

The concept of reference group has been used extensively since it was introduced by Herbert Hyman in 1942. Hyman's study analyzed individuals' evaluation of their status and found that they differed according to whom they were comparing themselves. The concept has since proven useful in accounting for such things as behavior inconsistency as an individual moves from one context to another, for behavior in upward or downward mobility or in situations of marginality and for situations involving choice between alternatives. It has thus served as an analytical tool in a variety of studies but has in turn been subject to criticism.



Reference groups: issues and disagreements. Two general difficulties with the concept have been particularly stressed in the literature. The first deals with its meaning. Controversy over definition of basic terms is not new in the social sciences and the concept of reference groups has received its share of opposing definitions and interpretations.

Arnold Rose has stated that the concept reference group is misleading because it implies a number of people, while an individual may use only one other person or even himself as an anchoring point. Thus Rose has suggested substituting the term "reference relationship" for reference group. In a similar vein, Robert Merton has found the term too inclusive and he distinguishes between reference groups, reference individuals and role models. Herton defines reference individuals as those whose values and behavior, cutting across several roles, serve as standards for a person. In contrast, a role model serves as a limited object of identification through only one or a few of his roles.

Reference groups can also be translated as "significant others." The interchange of terms for supposedly the same phenomenon further complicates the issue. Manford Kuhn has suggested the utility of differentiating between a general "orientational other" and a role specific other. This differentiation is very similar to Merton's reference individual and role model discussed previously. An exploratory study by Norman K. Denzin on the significant others of a college population utilized Kuhn's distinction and suggested the usefulness of distin-



guishing between these two types of reference groups and of analyzing the situations where highly salient reference groups may act in both capacities. However, he could have as easily substituted the terms reference individual and role model for orientational other and role specific other.

A second general problem with the concept of reference group pertains to imprecision in the literature regarding the utility of a reference group. Kelly and Shibutani have both pointed out that reference groups have been characterized as performing both a comparative and a normative function. 8 Performance of a comparative function is illustrated by the previously mentioned study by Hyman where an individual's status evaluation differed according to the group which he used for comparison. A normative function is characterized by the group providing a perspective or frame of reference for the individual who identifies with that group. Shibutani has noted suggestions in the literature of a possible third function which is aspirational and provides a future orientation. He describes such groups as "...(those) in which the actor aspires to gain or maintain acceptance." An example of such a situation would be the conspicuous consumption habits of some nouveau riche who aspire to being accepted by the established upper class. Part of the confusion with regard to the definition of reference group is the attempt to use the same label to cover different processes. 11 Shibutani has observed that:

[&]quot;...the available formal definitions are inconsistent and sometimes formal definitions are contradicted in usage. The fact that social psychologists can under-



stand one another in spite of these ambiguities, however, implies an intuitive recognition of some central meaning...12

Certainly the use of a "catch-all" term acts as a hindrance to productive research and this type of label needs to be eventually clarified or it will possibly hide more questions than it answers.

Definition of reference relationships. Considering the problems with the definition of reference groups, it is obviously necessary to clarify the usage of this major concept in the present research. this study the term reference relationship will replace that of reference group. This meets Rose's criticism which was discussed earlier and as a term is much more germane to this analysis. The concern here is not only with the influence of aggregates, but also with the influence of individuals and particularly with the influence of the The principal emphasis is on the normative and aspirational mother. aspects of reference relationships in terms of the values, attitudes, and future orientation which they are perceived to promote. there is overlap between the functions of reference relationships, the comparative aspects will be only touched upon indirectly, in so far as the young woman's evaluation of her mother's role may serve as a source of comparison affecting her attitude and commitment toward her anticipated marital-motherhood role.

Arnold Rose's definition of reference relationships will be used in this study. Rose defines reference relationships as the "... source of values selected by an individual for the guidance of his

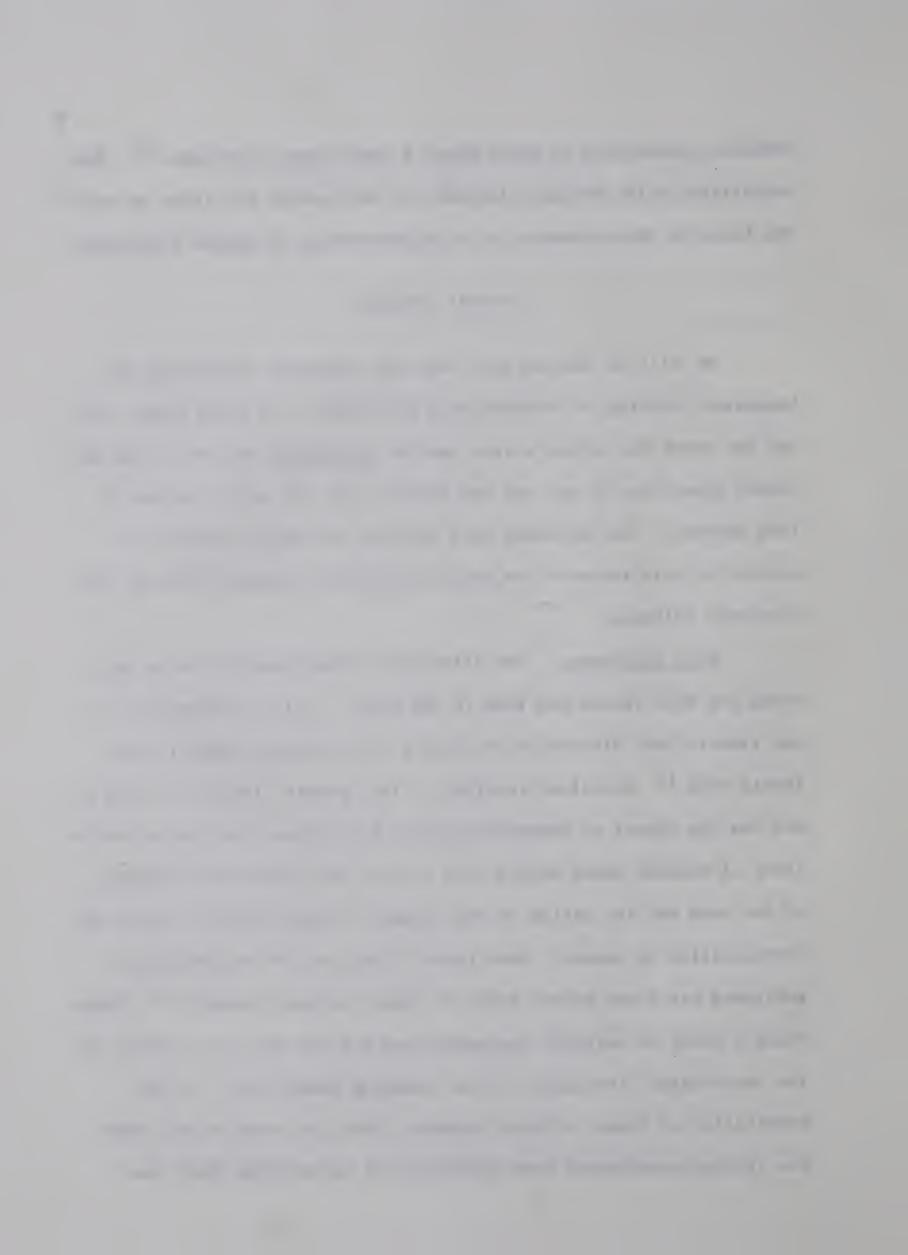


behavior, especially in cases where a choice has to be made." ¹³ This definition could obviously include not only people but ideas as well. ¹⁴ The focus of this research is on the perception of people's attitudes.

Central Concepts

We will be dealing here with the processes influencing the homemaker, working or combined role preference of a young woman. The way she views her mother's role and the <u>perception</u> she has of the way others expect her to act are two factors that are very relevant to this process. The following will describe the major variables of concern to this research and discuss previous findings which are particularly relevant.

Role Preference. The alternative roles possible to an adult woman are more varied now than in the past. It is a commonplace of our time to hear discussion concerning the evolving change in the female role. 15 Questions relating to the "proper" female role are not new but the advent of industrialization has intensified the particular issue of whether women should work outside the traditional confines of the home and the merits of the change in female behavior since the "emancipation of women." Over twenty years ago, Mirra Komarovsky published her often quoted study of female college students. 16 Komarovsky's study of cultural contradictions and sex role is a classic in the sociological literature on the changing female role. In her examination of female college students, forty per cent of the women she studied experienced some difficulty in reconciling their com-



petitive academic role with the traditional role of the submissive female which they felt was expected of them by their parents and boy friends. The respondents felt it necessary, at times, to deprecate their academic abilities in order to appear "feminine." Parents expected them to study but not to become too intellectual for fear of losing their femininity. These students perceived their boy friends as wanting them to be less intelligent, less knowledgeable and less capable than they.

In North America occupational participation has long been regarded as an important aspect of the male role. ¹⁷ But increasing numbers of females have been entering the labour force in recent decades. Between 1951 and 1961 the proportion of females in the Canadian labour force rose from 22 to 28 per cent. ¹⁸ While it is now common, indeed expected, that young unmarried women will be employed, employment of females after marriage and particularly after motherhood is still subject to controversy. However, in the United States, by 1960, almost 40 per cent of the mothers of children between the ages of six to seventeen were working and almost 20 per cent of all mothers with pre-school age children were employed. ¹⁹

The reasons married women seek employment are varied. Though money may be a frequently offered explanation, other factors are also in operation. Marion G. Sobel writes:

The common supposition that married women are working 'for the money' does not tell the whole story, well over one-third of working wives advance reasons other than financial. Further, the women who offer only non-financial reasons for work are more likely

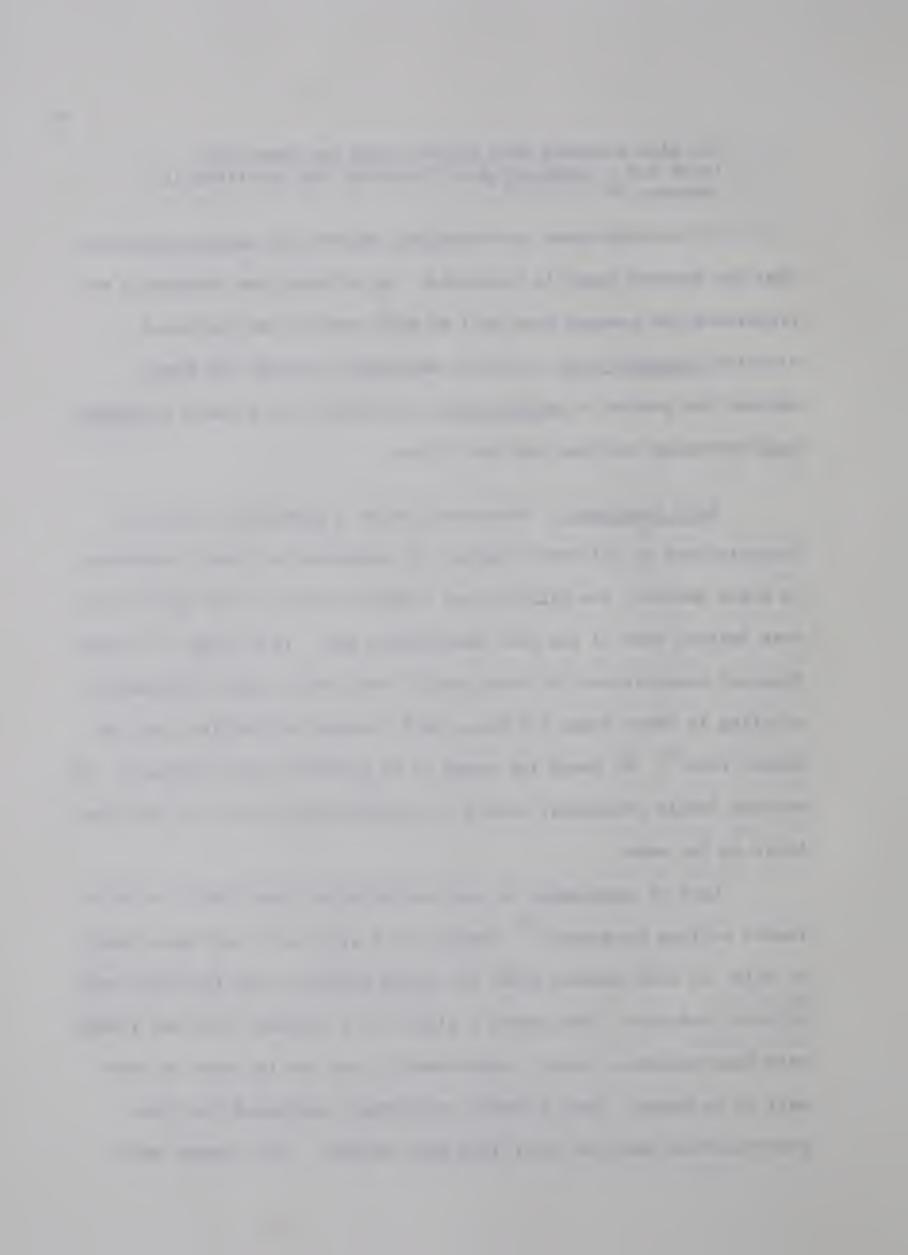


to plan extended work careers than the women who work for a <u>combination</u> of financial and non-financial reasons.²⁰

It is with these non-financial reasons for seeking employment that the present study is concerned. In defining the daughter's role preference the concern here will be with whether she prefers a strictly <a href="https://www.noemployment.com/homemaker.com

Role Commitment. Women who prefer a particular role are characterized by different degrees of commitment to their preference. In North America, the middle-class female's role is less specific and less defined than it was four generations ago. In a study of college females' expectations for their adult role, Rose sought information relating to their plans for home, work, leisure activities, and the parent role. ²¹ He found the women to be generally very confused. The average female respondent wanted to combine more roles than there were hours in the week.

Lack of commitment is also reflected in James Davis' study of female college graduates. ²² Females as a group were much more likely to delay or even abandon plans for doing graduate work than were male college graduates. Even women's plans for a marriage role are fraught with uncertainties, since, traditionally they are the ones who must wait to be asked. Rose's female respondents indicated that they expected to be married later than they desired. The reasons which



they gave dealt with "waiting for the man to be ready." Rose concludes from his study that:

...there is a certain inconsistency, lack of definiteness, and lack of realism about expectations for adult roles among a significant proportion of women college students. The proportion of women college students confused in this way is significantly larger than among men college students.²⁴

Similarly, Jessie Bernard has suggested in her book on female academicians that the woman who does go on to do graduate work does so less from a feeling of commitment than from lack of anything else to do. 25 As an example of the effects of this, her research shows that of female Ph.D.s in Biology in the United States, one-fourth were not working ten years after receiving their degrees. 26

Hence, one of the major variables in this study is the daughter's strength of role commitment.

Next we might ask: what are the factors that determine the daughter's role preference and role commitment. The concern in this study will be with the mother's role, the daughter's evaluation of mother's role and the perception daughter holds of others' expectations for her role choice.

Mother's Role. The role which the mother followed will also be categorized into one of the same three types as daughter's preferred role, i.e., homemaker, combined or working. To what extent does the mother's type of role influence the daughter's role preference?

Merton has cautioned that "the obvious common-sense proposition which holds that the functionally or substantively pertinent group invariably

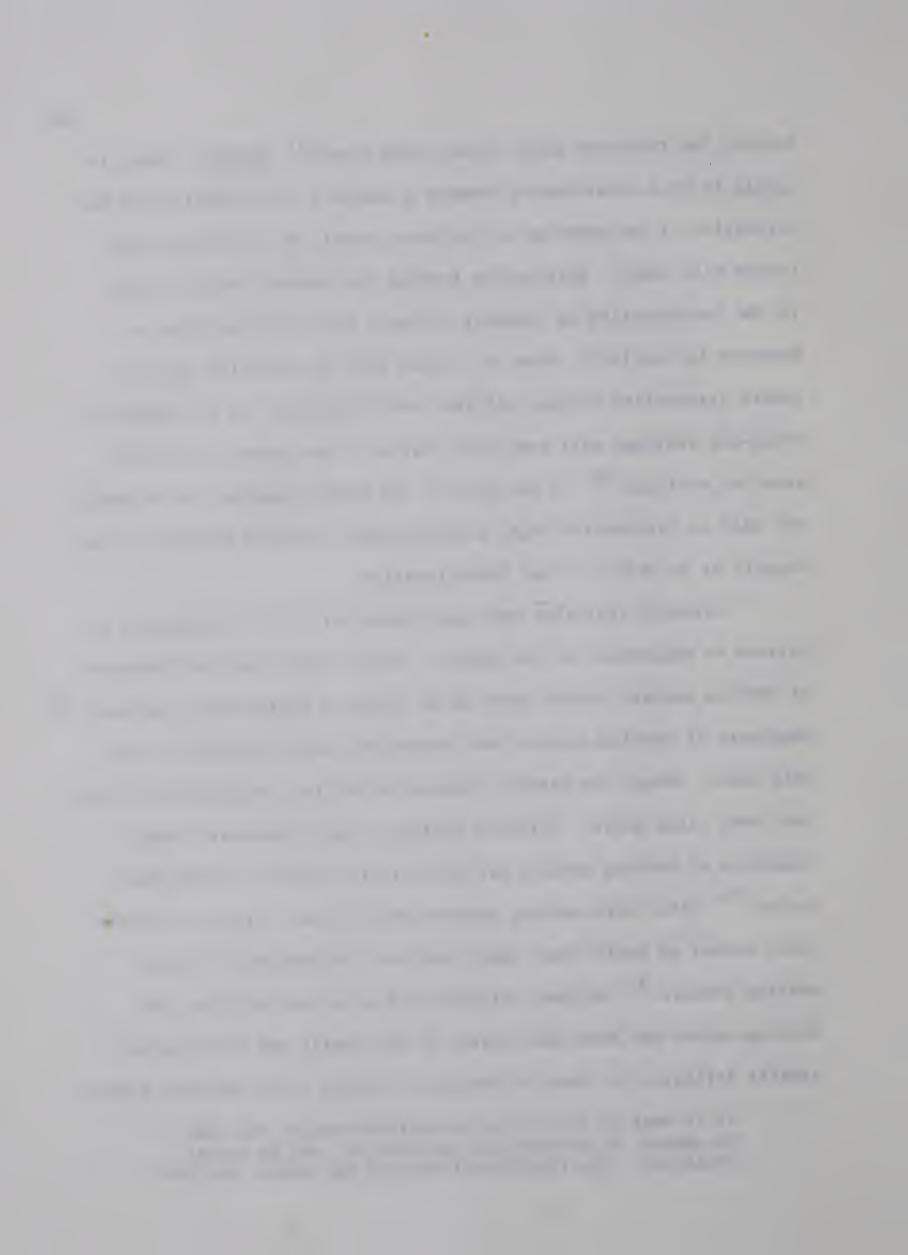


becomes the reference group is far from true."²⁷ However, there is likely to be a relationship between a person's role behavior and his perception of the behavior of the most visible or societally sanctioned role model. Interaction between two persons tends to lead to the incorporation of elements of one's role into the other's.

Research by Orville G. Brim jr. showed that in two-child families (where interaction between siblings would likely be at its highest) cross-sex siblings will have more traits of the opposite sex then same sex siblings.²⁸ In the case of the mother-daughter relationship, not only is interaction high, but the mother receives strong societal support as an object of sex identification.

Research indicates that some characteristics in daughters are related to employment of the mother. Douvan found that the daughters of working mothers scored lower on an index of traditional femininity. 29 Daughters of working mothers were themselves more involved in household tasks, though the middle class girls had less responsibility than the lower class girls. Evidence indicates that elementary school daughters of working mothers are more likely to want to work themselves. 30 Girls with working mothers are also more likely to choose their mother as their ideal adult than are the daughters of non-working mothers. 31 Hoffman interprets this as the fact that the working mother may have more status in the family and also she may exhibit abilities in areas of immediate concern to her growing daughter.

Girls want to do well in activities outside the home, in school, in recreational activities, and in social relations. The traditional role of the woman, the role



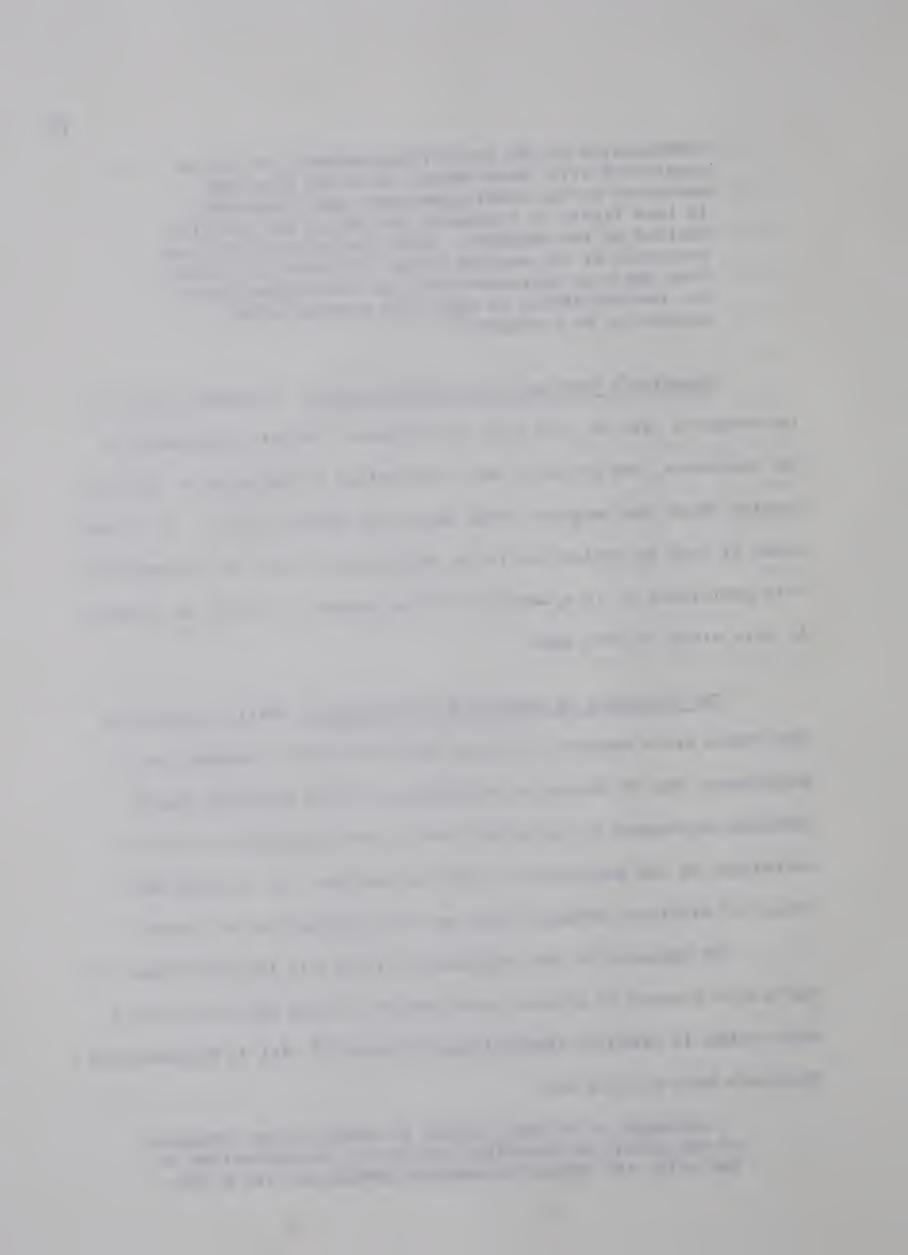
communicated by the non-working mothers, is not as consistent with these values as is the role communicated by the working mothers, and, therefore, is less likely to represent the skills and qualities desired by the daughter. Thus, not only is the role presented by the working mother different in context, than the role represented by the non-working mother, but the motivation to model the working mother appears to be stronger. 32

Daughter's evaluation of mother's role. Certainly not just the mother's type of role acts to influence the role preference of the daughters, but probably more influential is the high or low evaluation which the daughter forms about her mother's role. It is not clear if such an evaluation is an influencing factor on the daughters role preference or is a product of this process. It will be treated in this study in both ways.

The influence of perceived expectations. While recognizing that there are a variety of forces which influence a woman's role preference, one of the major determinants of her attitude toward personal employment at any given time is her perception of the expectations of the significant others around her. It is with this aspect of attitude formation that we are concerned in this study.

The emphasis on the responses of others in the development of one's self concept is a basic contribution of Mead and Cooley and a major theme in symbolic interactionist theory. 33 But as Miyamoto and Dornbusch have pointed out:

...although it is Mead's habit to speak of the 'response of the other' as providing the key to the definition of the self, the phrase is somewhat ambiguous, for a dis-



tinction may be drawn between (a) the actual response of the other and (b) the subject's perception of the response of the other. Mead often does not distinguish between these two; but it is consistent with his view that the perception of the other's response is the critical aspect. 34

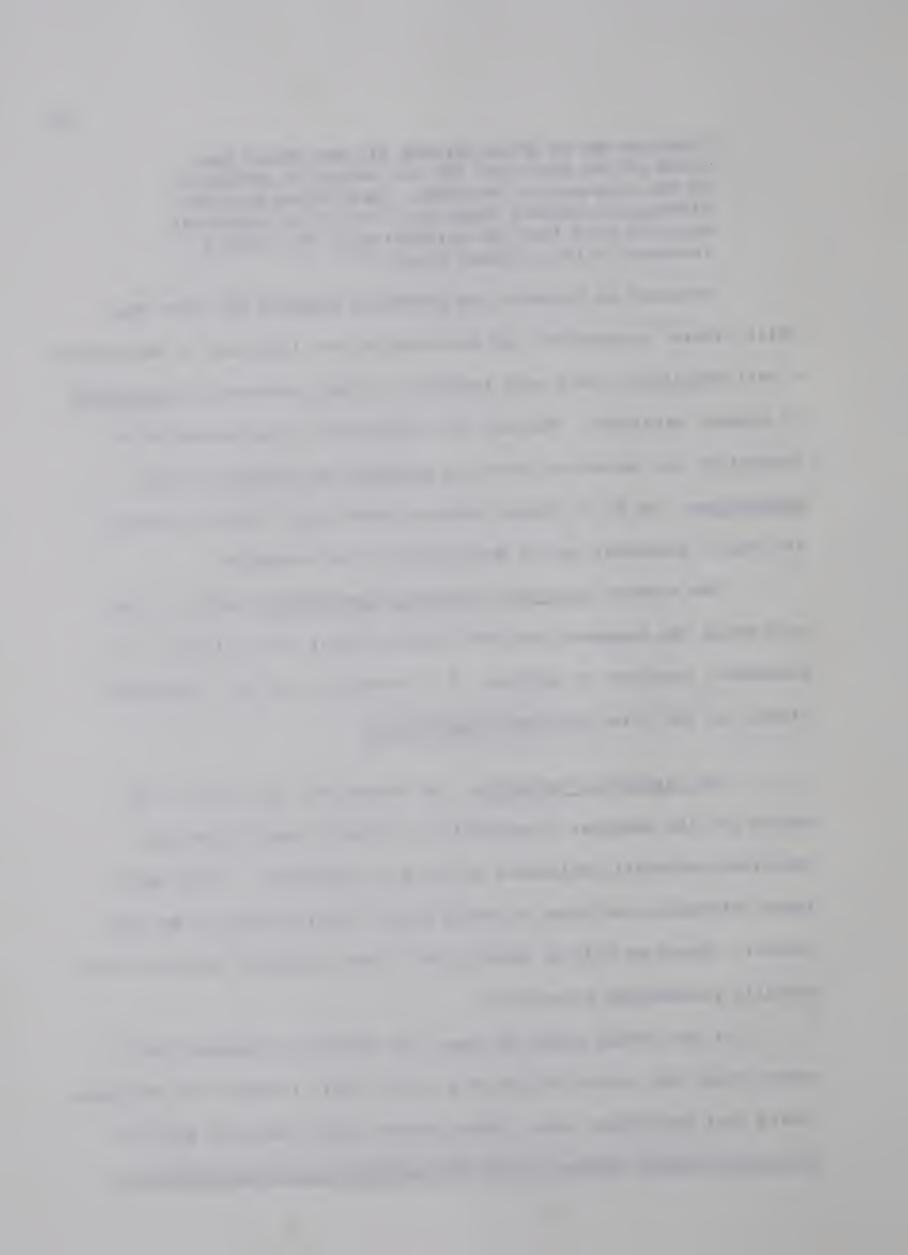
Research by Miyamoto and Dornbusch supports the view that while others' conceptions and expectations are important in developing a self-definition, even more important is the individual's <u>perception</u> of others' attitudes. Whether the individual's interpretation is correct or not is not at issue; <u>he responds on the basis of his perceptions</u>. As W. I. Thomas observed years ago, a man's behavior is largely dependent on his definition of the situation.

The concept <u>perceived reference expectations</u> refers to the role which the daughter perceives others expect her to follow, i.e., homemaker, combined or working. For convenience we will frequently simply use the term <u>perceived expectations</u>.

The similarity variables. By themselves, the role of the mother and the daughter's perception of others' expectations are important potential influences on her role preference. When one of these reinforces the other we would expect the influence to be even greater. Hence we will be dealing with three variables which refer to mutually reinforcing situations.

If the mother plays the same role which the daughter feels others think she should follow, this would likely increase the pressures toward that particular role. Hence another basic variable will be:

Similarity between mother's role and daughter's perceived reference



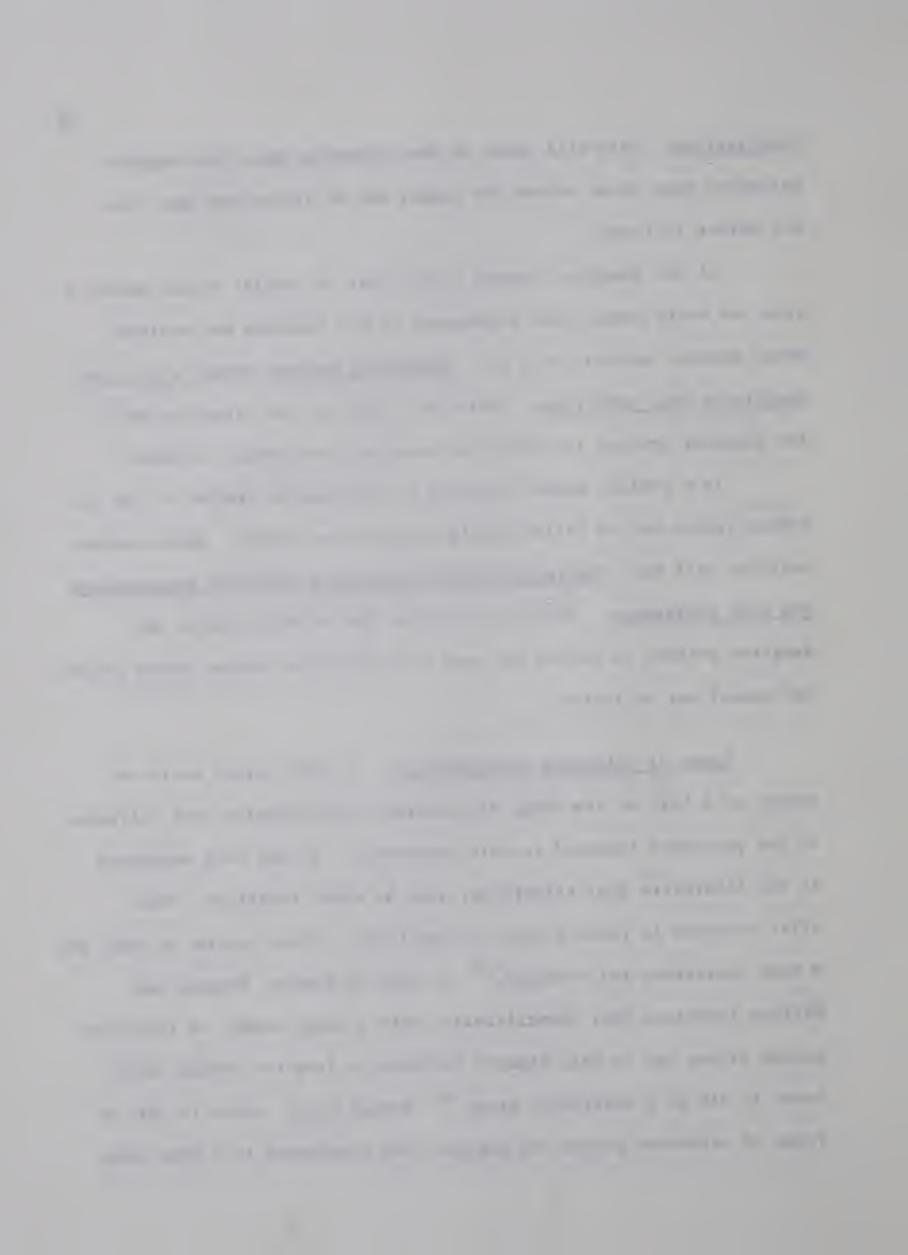
expectations. This will refer to the situation where the daughter perceives that those around her expect her to follow the same role her mother followed.

If the daughter chooses a role that is similar to her mother's role, we would expect less dissonance in her thinking and actions.

Hence another variable will be: Similarity between mother's role and daughter's role preference. This will refer to the situation where the daughter prefers to follow the same role her mother followed.

In a similar manner choosing a role that is similar to the one others expect her to follow should provide less stress. Hence another variable will be: Similarity between perceived reference expectations and role preference. This will refer to the situation where the daughter prefers to follow the same role which she thinks others around her expect her to follow.

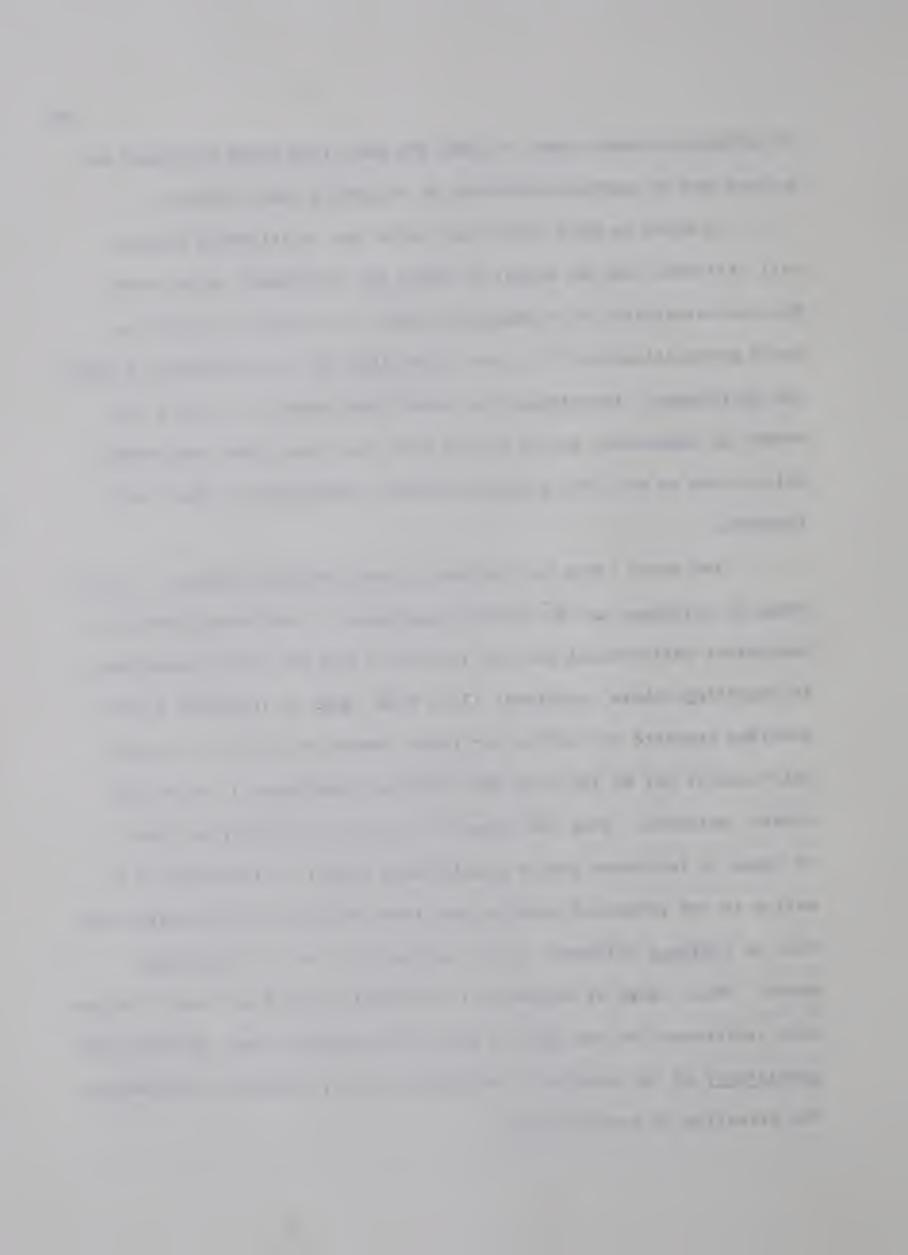
Range of reference relationships. To what extent would exposure to a high or low range of reference relationships have influence on the processes involved in role preference? It has been suggested in the literature that situations, such as rural isolation, which offer exposure to fewer groups of significant others provide a basis for a more consistent self-concept. The A study by Reeder, Donahue and Biblarz indicates that identification with a large number of reference groups allows one to rate himself differently from the rating attributed to him by a particular group. Reeder et al., refer to this as range of reference groups and suggest that attachment to a wide range



of reference groups tends to widen the pool from which attitudes are derived and to provide experience in rejecting some opinions.

A study by Carl Couch dealt with the relationship between self attitudes and the extent to which the individual agrees with his own perception of an immediate other's evaluation of him in a small group situation. ³⁷ It was found that in the evaluation of their own performance, individuals who identified themselves with a low number of membership groups relied more than those with high membership scores on how they perceived others' evaluation of their performance.

Two basic ideas are implied in the foregoing studies: (1) low range of reference groups involves exposure to consistent ideas and a consistent self-concept but the individual has had little experience in rejecting others' opinions; (2) a high range of reference groups provides exposure to conflicting ideas, thereby promoting a flexible self-concept but at the same time offering experience in rejecting others' opinions. Thus the extent of exposure to differing ideas or range of reference groups would likely affect an individual's reaction to the perceived expectations from reference relationships and have an indirect influence on the preferred roles of college age women. While range of reference relationships would not seem to determine preference for one type of role over another it may influence the consistency of the daughter's perceptual world, thereby strengthening the direction of socialization.



The Hypotheses

The following, then, are the hypotheses which define the focus of this research. Each is preceded by a brief linking statement.

Set I The mother is in a role of positional importance to her daughter and this role generally provides the daughter with her first opportunity for identification with a member of the same sex; therefore:

Hypothesis 1 Mother's role will be associated with daughter's role preference.

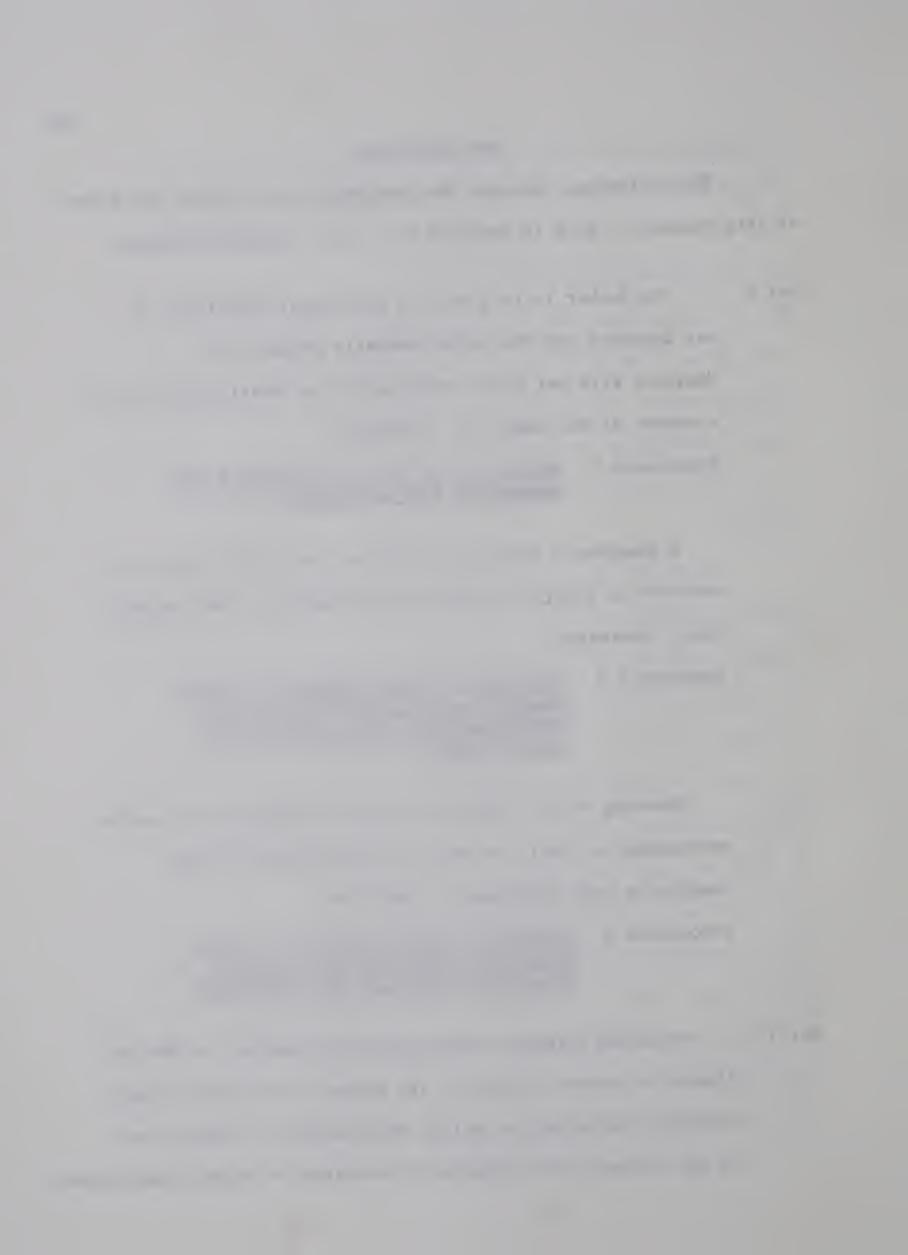
A daughter's decision to follow a role like that of her mother's is likely to involve an evaluation of her mother's role; therefore:

Hypothesis 2 Similarity between mother's role and daughter's role preference will be associated with high evaluation of mother's role.

Choosing a role like the one she has observed her mother performing is likely to act as a reinforcement of the daughter's role preference; therefore:

Hypothesis 3 Similarity between mother's role and daughter's role preference will be associated with high role commitment.

Set II Perceived reference expectations are subject to the influence of several factors. The mother's role may not particularly influence the actual expectations of others, but
it may influence the daughter's perception of those expectations;



therefore:

Hypothesis 4 Mother's role will be associated with perceived reference expectations.

A situation where the daughter perceives others to support the same role her mother follows is likely to influence her evaluation of her mother; therefore:

Hypothesis 5 Similarity between mother's role and daughter's perceived reference expectations will be associated with high evaluation of mother's role.

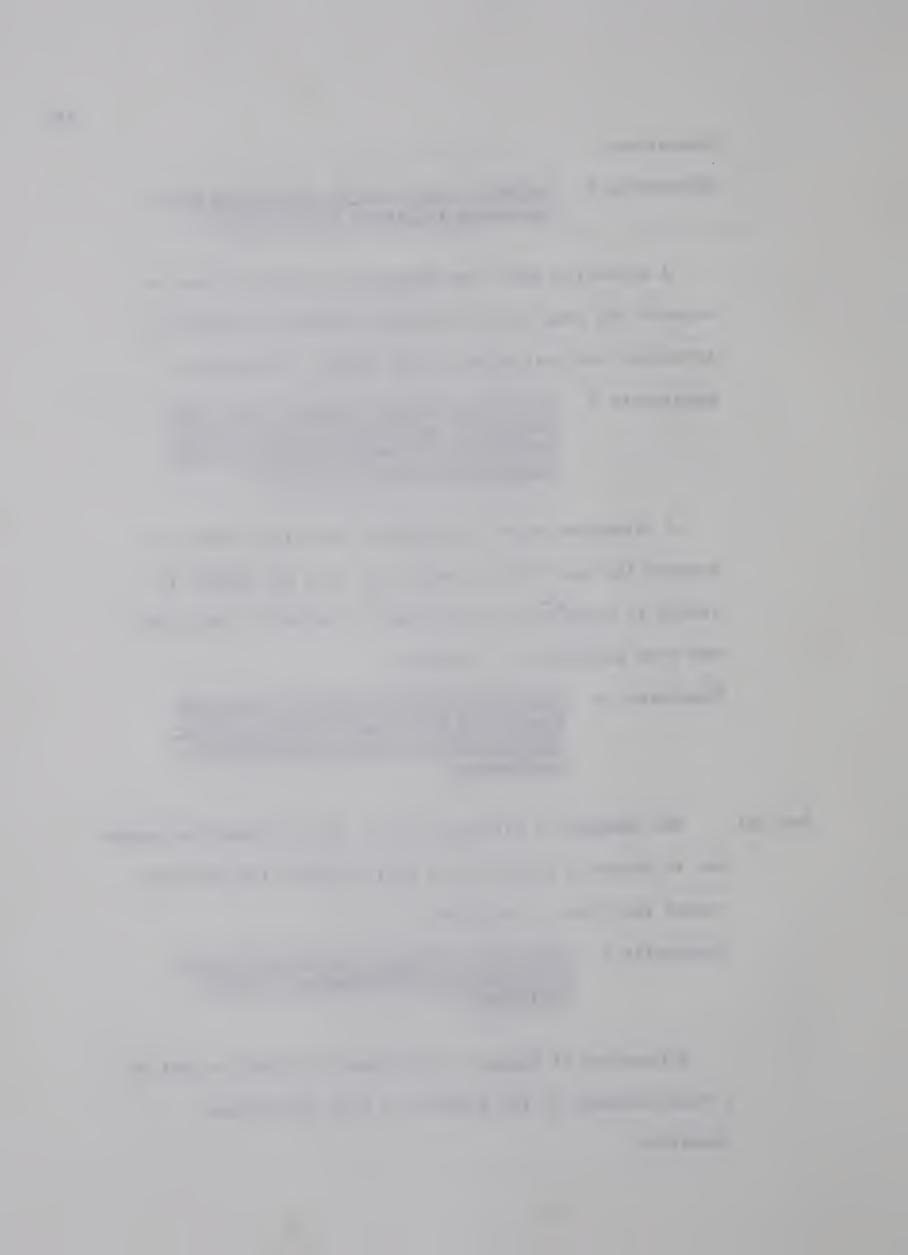
A situation where the daughter perceives others to support the same role in which she sees her mother is likely to contribute to feelings of certainty about her own role preference; therefore:

- Hypothesis 6 Similarity between mother's role and daughter's perceived reference expectations will be associated with role commitment.
- Set III The daughter's perception that others around her expect

 her to choose a certain role will increase the pressures

 toward that role; therefore:
 - Hypothesis 7 Perceived reference expectations will be associated with daughter's role preference.

Perception of support from others is likely to act as a reinforcement of the daughter's role preference; therefore:



Hypothesis 8 Similarity between perceived reference expectations and daughter's role preference will be associated with high role commitment.

As a logical deduction from hypothesis 5 predicting that similarity between mother's role and daughter's perceived expectations will be associated with high evaluation of mother's role and hypothesis 1 predicting that mother's role will be associated with daughter's role preference, the following hypothesis has been derived:

Hypothesis 9 Similarity between daughter's perceived reference expectations and daughter's role preference will be associated with high evaluation of mother's role.

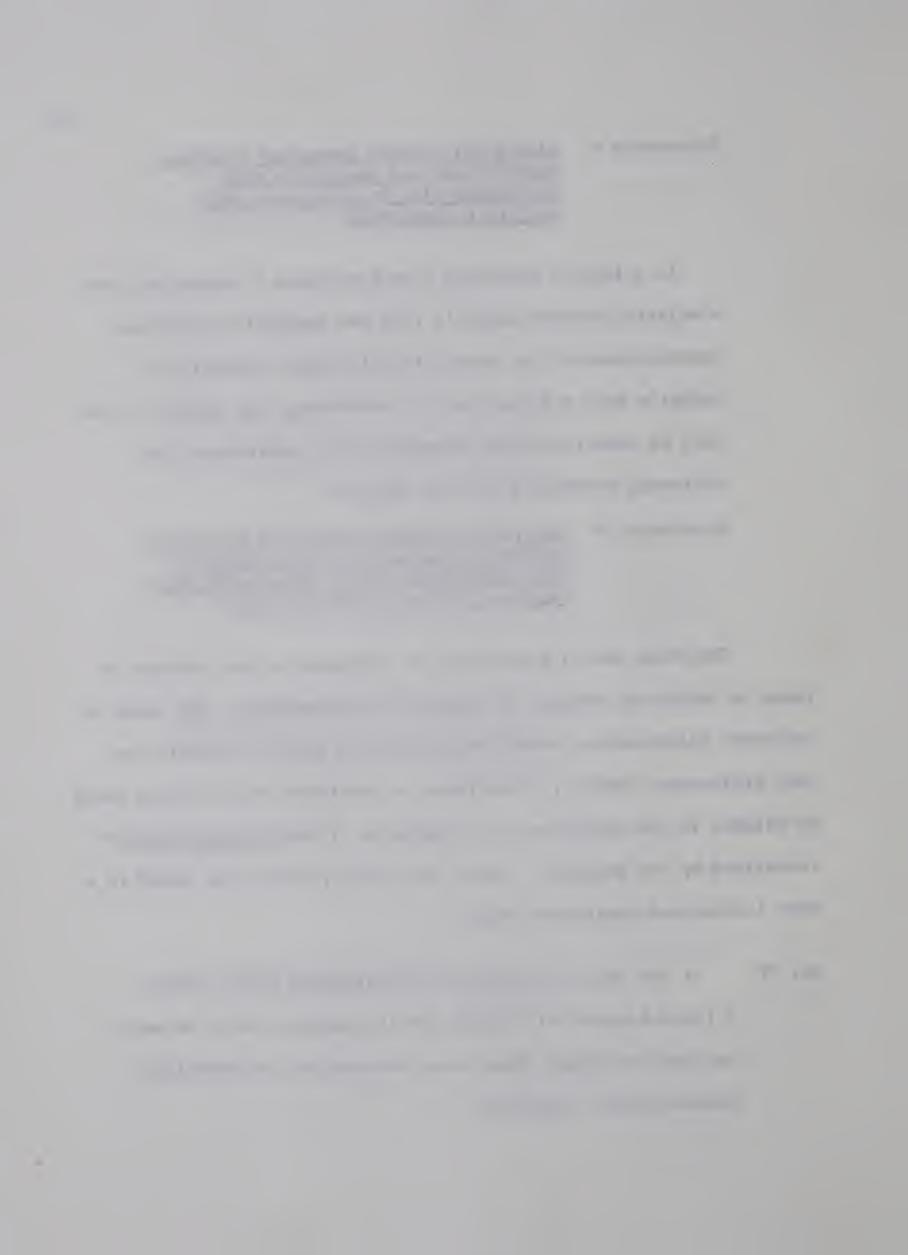
The final set of hypotheses is dependent on the concept of range or extent of exposure to reference relationships. The range of reference relationships cannot be utilized to predict a particular role preference; however, a low range of reference relationships would be related to the consistency or congruence of the <u>Weltanschaung</u> internalized by the daughter. Hence, she would perceive the world in a more limited and consistent manner.

Set IV A low range of reference relationships would indicate

a limited number of stimuli and the daughter would be more

inclined to choose those roles dictated by her perceived

expectations; therefore:



Hypothesis 10 A low range of reference relationships will be associated with similarity between perceived reference expectations and role preference.

While mother's role is important, in situations of low range where the number of alternative influences are more limited, it is likely to be even more influential; therefore:

Hypothesis 11 Low range of reference relationships will be associated with similarity between mother's role and daughter's role preference.

A low range of reference relationships provides a limited number of stimuli. Following as a logical deduction from hypotheses 10 and 11, therefore:

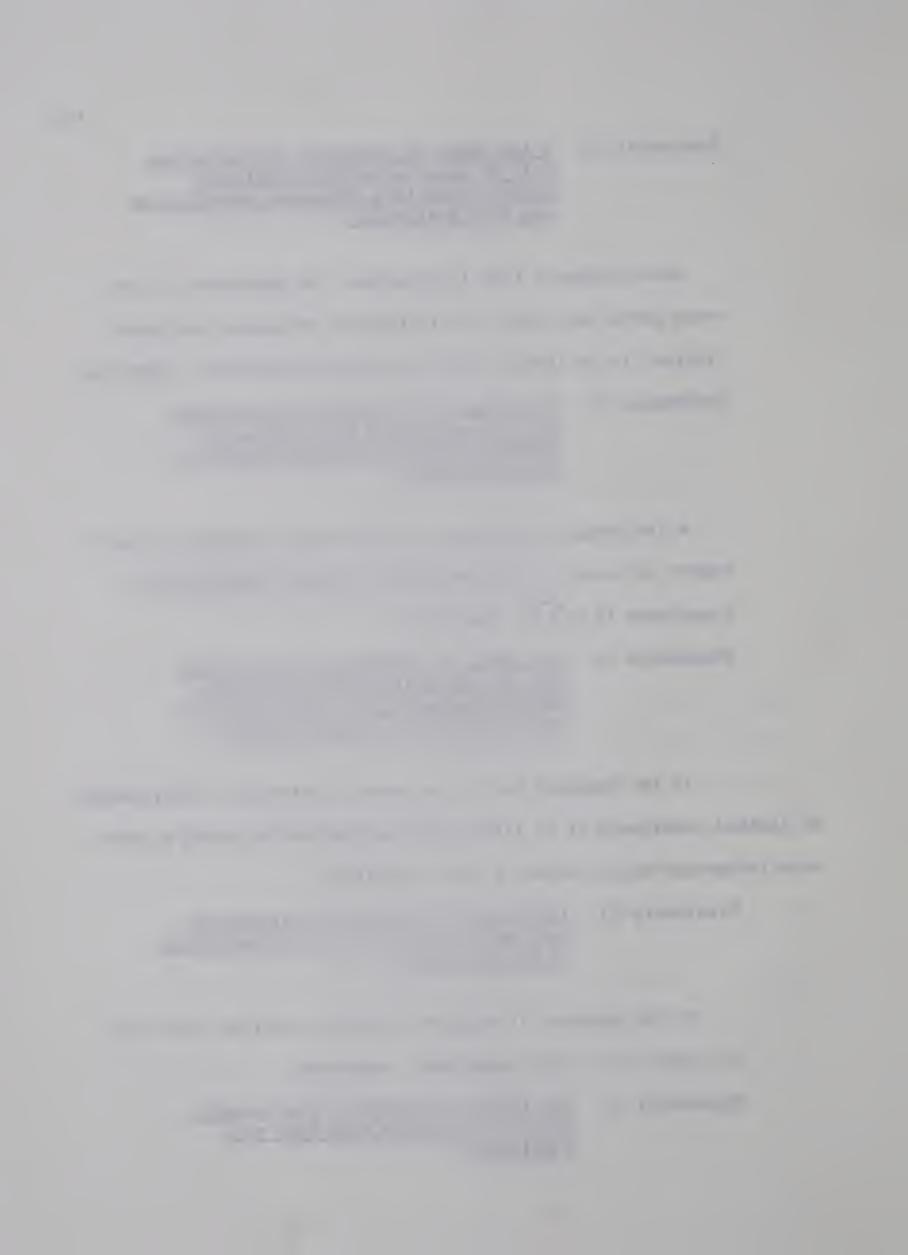
Hypothesis 12 Low range of reference relationships will be associated with similarity between mother's role and daughter's perceived reference expectations.

If the daughter has a low range of reference relationships or limited experience it is likely that her perception would be even more influenced by her mother's role, therefore:

Hypothesis 13 Low range of reference relationships will be associated with high evaluation of mother's role.

If the daughter is exposed to fewer competing views she is likely to be more committed; therefore:

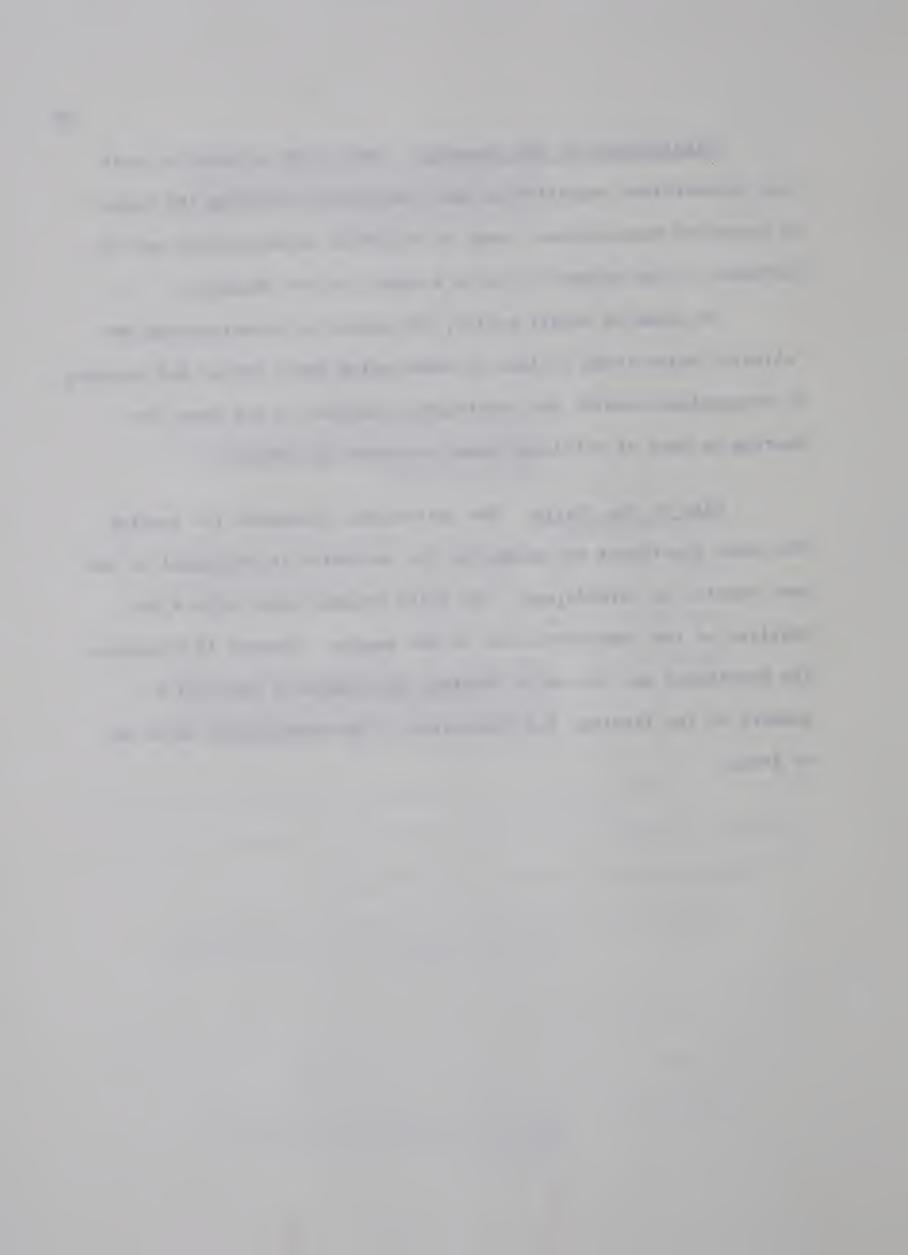
Hypothesis 14 Low range of reference relationships will be associated with high role commitment.



Significance of the research. This study proposes to test some propositions suggested in the literature concerning the impact of perceived expectations, range of reference relationships and the influence of the mother's role as a model for her daughter.

In terms of social policy, the study, by investigating the "climate" which tends to lead to women using their skills and training in occupations outside the traditional confines of the home, has bearing on ways of utilizing human resources in general.

Plan of the thesis. The operational procedure for testing the above hypotheses and measuring the variables is discussed in the next chapter on methodology. The third chapter deals with a description of the characteristics of the sample. Chapter IV discusses the hypotheses and the major findings and chapter V deals with a summary of the findings and discussion of the conclusions which may be drawn.



FOOTNOTES

Herbert Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," Archives of Psychology, 269 (1942). Also see by Hyman, "Reflections on Reference Groups," Public Opinion Quarterly, 24 (1960), pp. 373-96.

²See for example, Bernard C. Rosen, "The Reference Group Approach to the Parental Factor in Attitude and Behavior Formation," Social Forces, 34 (1955), pp. 137-144; Bernard C. Rosen, "Conflicting Group Membership: A Study of Parent-Peer Group Cross Pressures," American Sociological Review, 20 (1955), pp. 155-161; and Ralph H. Turner, "Reference Groups of Future-oriented Men," Social Forces, 34 (1955), pp. 130-136.

³Arnold Rose, "A Systematic Summary of Symbolic Interaction Theory," in Arnold Rose (ed.), <u>Human Behavior and Social Processes</u>: An Interactionist Approach, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1962, p. 11.

⁴Robert K. Merton, <u>Social Theory and Social Structure</u>, Glencoe: Free Press, 1957, pp. 302-303.

⁵Henry Stack Sullivan first used the term 'Significant Other' to refer to those whose opinions were of concern to an individual. See H.S. Sullivan, <u>Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry</u>, Washington, D.C.: W.H. White Psychiatric Foundation, 1947.

6Manford H. Kuhn, "The Reference Group Reconsidered," Sociological Quarterly, 5 (1964), pp. 5-24.

Norman K. Denzin, "The Significant Others of a College Population," Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 7 (1966), pp. 298-311.

⁸Harold H. Kelley, "Two Functions of Reference Groups," in Guy Swanson, et al., (eds.), Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1952, pp. 410-414; Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," American Journal of Sociology, 60 (1955), pp. 562-569; T. Shibutani, "Reference Groups and Social Control." in Arnold Rose, (ed.), op.cit., pp. 128-147; also see Ralph Turner, "Role-taking, Role Standpoint, and Reference Group Behavior," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (1956), pp. 316-28.

9Hyman, op.cit.

10Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," op.cit., p. 563.



Shibutani suggests limiting the concept of reference group to refer to solely the normative aspect. He reasons, "It is (my) contention... that the restriction of the concept of reference group to the third alternative - that group whose perspective constitutes the frame of reference of the actor - will increase its usefulness in research. Any group or object may be used for comparisons, and one need not assume the role of those with whom he compares his fate; hence the first usage (groups serving as comparison points) serves a quite different purpose and may be eliminated from further consideration. Under some circumstances, however, group loyalties and aspirations are related to the perspectives assumed, and the character of this relationship calls for further exploration." <u>Tbid.</u>, p. 563.

12<u>Ibid</u>., p. 56**2**.

¹³See Arnold Rose, in the introduction to an article by Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups and Social Control," in Arnold Rose, (ed.) <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 128.

14 See for example, Clifford T. Paynton, "A Suggestion for Reference Group Theory: Ideational Referents and Group Referents,"

The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 3 (1966),

pp. 214-223. Paynton suggests differentiating between identification with a group and identification with ideas and perspectives. The former he refers to as reference group the latter as ideational referents.

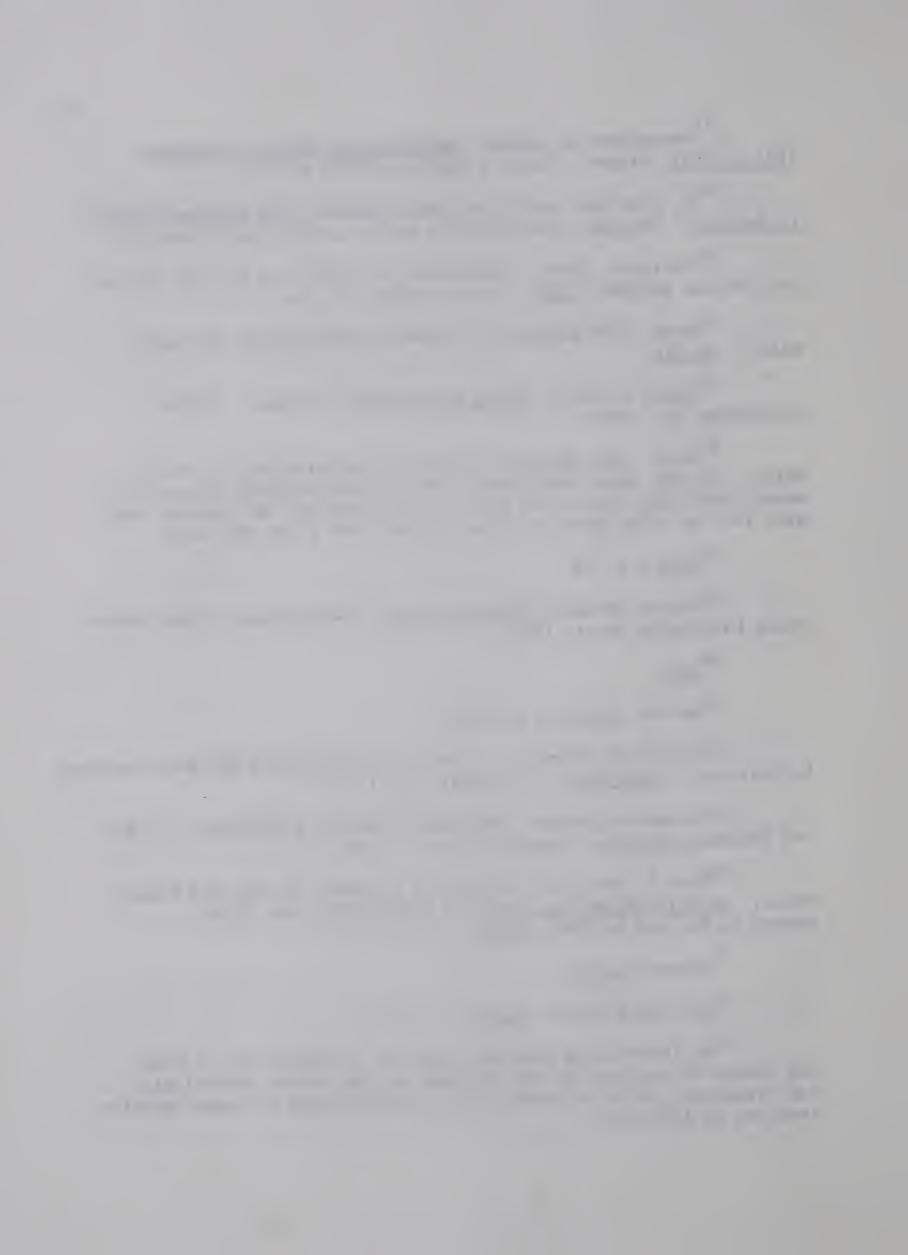
Some examples in the Social Sciences are: Elizabeth G. French and Gerald S. Lesser, "Some Characteristics of the Achievement Motive in Women," <u>Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology</u>, 68 (1964), pp. 119-128; Arnold Rose, "The Adequacy of Women's Expectations for Adult Roles," <u>Social Forces</u>, 30 (1951), pp. 67-75; Ralph H. Turner, "Some Aspects of Women's Ambition," <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, 70 (1964), pp. 271-286; and Paul Wallin, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles: A Repeat Study," <u>American Sociological Review</u>, 15 (1950), pp. 288-293.

16Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contraditions and Sex Roles," American Journal of Sociology, 52 (1946), pp. 184-89.

17 The extent of male concern with their occupations may reflect a quite different orientation than traditional female concerns. Whyte has suggested that middle-class "organization" wives, for example, would probably be very surprised that most husbands, if they had to choose, would rather have an "increasingly satisfying work life and a proportionately souring home life" than the converse. See, William H. Whyte, Jr., "The Wife Problem," in Robert F. Winch and Robert McGinnis (eds.) Marriage and the Family, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1953, pp. 278-295.



- Department of Labour, <u>Occupational Trends in Canada:</u>
 1931 to 1961, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963, p. 15.
- 19F. Ivan Nye, and Lois Wladis Hoffman, The Employed Mother in America, Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963, pp. 8 and 16.
- ²⁰Marion G. Sobel, "Commitment to Work," in F. Ivan Nye and Lois Wladis Hoffman, <u>Ibid</u>., Chapter three, p. 54.
- $$^{21}\rm{Rose},$ "The Adequacy of Women's Expectations for Adult Roles," $\underline{op.cit}.$
- ²²James A. Davis, <u>Great Aspirations</u>, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964.
- 23Rose, "The Adequacy of Women's Expectations for Adult Roles," op.cit. Rose also found that the male students planned to marry later than they would have liked. However, the reasons they gave for the delay were in terms of their own plans and needs.
 - ²⁴<u>Ibid</u>., p. 76.
- ²⁵Jessie Bernard, <u>Academic Women</u>, Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1967.
 - 26 Ibid.
 - ²⁷Merton, <u>op.cit</u>., p. 302.
- ²⁸Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Family Structure and Sex Role Learning by Children," <u>Sociometry</u>, 21 (1958), pp. 1-18.
- ²⁹Elizabeth Douvan, "Employment and the Adolescent," in Nye and Hoffman, op.cit., Chapter 11, pp. 142-164.
- 30Ruth E. Hartley, "Children's Concepts of Male and Female Roles," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 6 (1959-1960), pp. 83-91. Quoted in Nye and Hoffman, op.cit., p. 211.
 - 31 Douvan, op.cit.
 - ³²Nye and Hoffman, op.cit., p. 201.
- 33An interesting parallel with the contributions of Mead and Cooley is provided by the writings of the Soviet psychologist L.G. Vygotsky. He also points to the social basis of human behavior (writing in 1930-31.):



"Thus, we may say that we become ourselves through others and that this rule, applies not only to the personality as a whole, but also to the history of every individual function. This is the essence of the process of cultural development expressed in a purely logical form. The personality becomes for itself what it is in itself through what it is for others. This is the process of the making of the personality."

See L.G. Vygotsky, "Development of the Higher Mental Function," translated by D. Myshne in <u>Psychological Research in the U.S.S.R.</u>, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966, pp. 43-44.

34Miyamoto, Frank, and Sanford M. Dornbusch, "A Test of Interactionist Hypotheses of Self-Conception," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (1956), p. 406.

35Basil G. Zimmer, "Farm Background and Urban Participation," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (1956), pp. 470-475; and Leo G. Reeder, George A. Donohue, and Arturo Biblarz, "Conceptions of Self and Others," American Journal of Sociology, 66 (1960), p. 158.

36 Reeder <u>et al.</u>, <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 153-159.

³⁷Carl J. Couch, "Self-Attitudes and Degree of Agreement with Immediate Others," <u>The American Journal of Sociology</u>, 63 (1958), pp. 491-496.

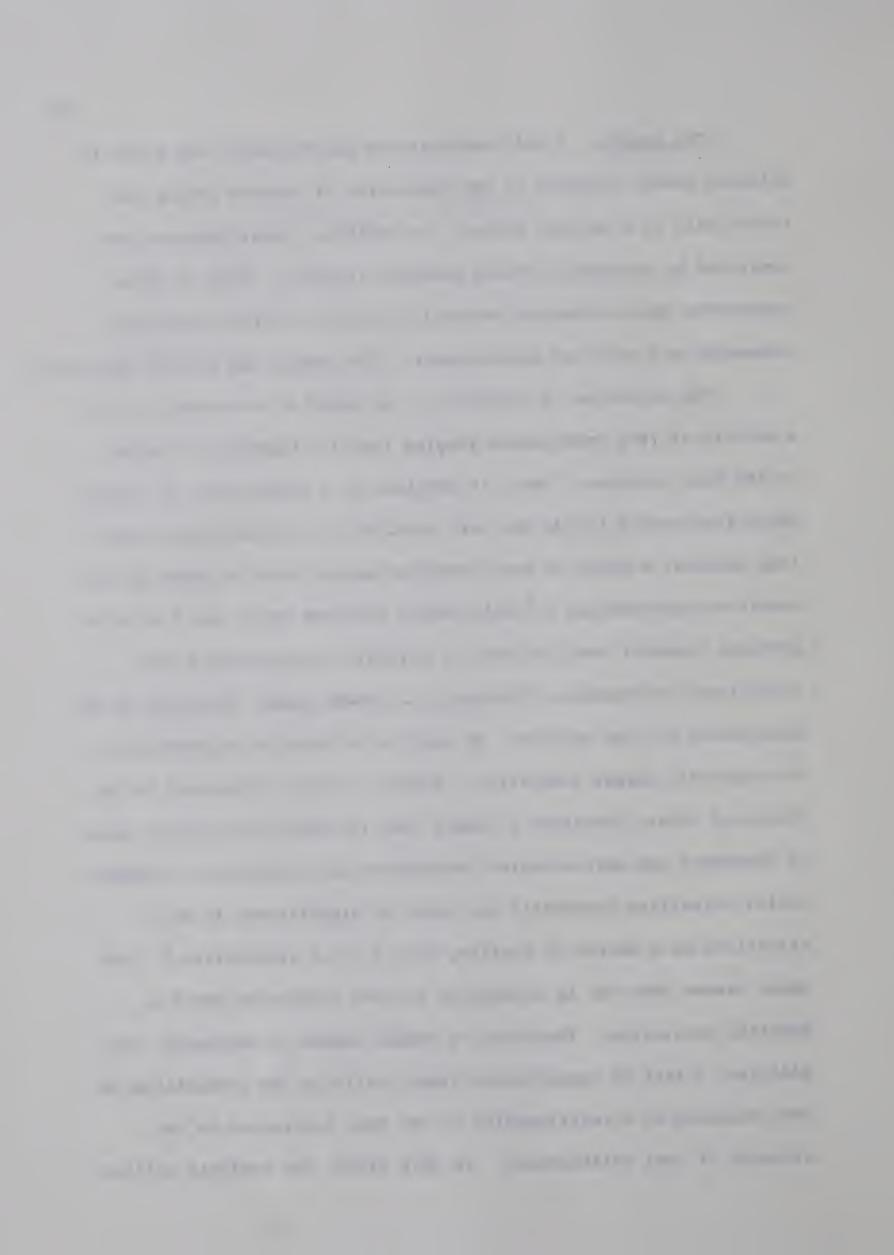
CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The Population. The choice of a population for this research was based on the desire to study a group which would clearly mirror the changing female role in Canada. The proportion of females in the Canadian labour force has been increasing in recent decades. I While some of these women are employed because of financial need, many others are products of the changing definition of the appropriate female role. Thus, for the purposes of this research, it was desirable to study a group of young women whose attitude toward employment would not reflect a decision based primarily on financial concerns. Female college students, as a group, are receiving enough education to pursue a relatively well-paying and prestigious occupation if they so desire; however, they are not likely to anticipate working because of financial need when married. Hence, an anticipatory decision to work after marriage and motherhood would likely be based on other motivations. In addition, female college students provide a group young enough so that they are still in the process of working out definitions of their adult roles and the impact of family influence is not so likely to have been negated by independence, age, or actual experience in the marital role. Thus, for the purposes of this research selected portions of the female student population of The University of Alberta met these objectives.

The sample. A self-administered questionnaire was given to selected female students at The University of Alberta during the latter half of a lecture period. In addition, questionnaires were completed by a group of female graduate students. Some of these respondents were contacted personally in their offices and others responded to a mail out questionnaire. The survey was done in April, 1967.

The selection of respondents was based on an attempt to get a variety of role preferences ranging from the homemaker oriented to the work oriented. Thus, in addition to a large group of respondents from varied fields who were enrolled in four different sociology courses, a group of home economics majors were included in the sample as representing a traditionally feminine major and a group of graduate students were included as possibly representing a less traditional orientation. Obviously, a random sample would not be as appropriate for the problem. We were not attempting to generalize to a specific larger population. Rather, we were interested in the choice of roles; therefore, a sample that included more typical cases of homemaker and work-oriented respondents was preferred. Although social scientists frequently use tests of significance in such situations as a matter of routine, they are not appropriate. 2 tests assume that one is attempting to make inferences about a specific population. Therefore, a random sample is necessary. addition, a test of significance simply tells us the probability of the existence of a relationship; we are more interested in the strength of that relationship. In this study, the analysis utilizes



measures of association between variables.

Administration of the questionnaire. A pre-test was administered to thirty-five female students in two upper division sociology courses. After some revision the final questionnaire was administered. A total of 480 questionnaires were completed of which 472 were useable. Four-hundred and thirty, or 89.6 per cent of the questionnaires, were completed during the latter part of the class period in two Introductory Sociology classes, two upper-level sociology classes and two upper-level household economics classes. All of the classes except those in home economics were coeducational. In coeducational classes the males were dismissed from the class early and the females were administered the questionnaire. 4 In addition to this, names of unmarried female graduate students were obtained from fourteen depart-Twelve of these students were personally contacted and upon request immediately filled out the questionnaire. In addition, questionnaires were mailed (with a covering letter) to the remaining forty-seven graduate students whose names were obtained. Of these, thirty, or 63.8 per cent, returned the questionnaires.6

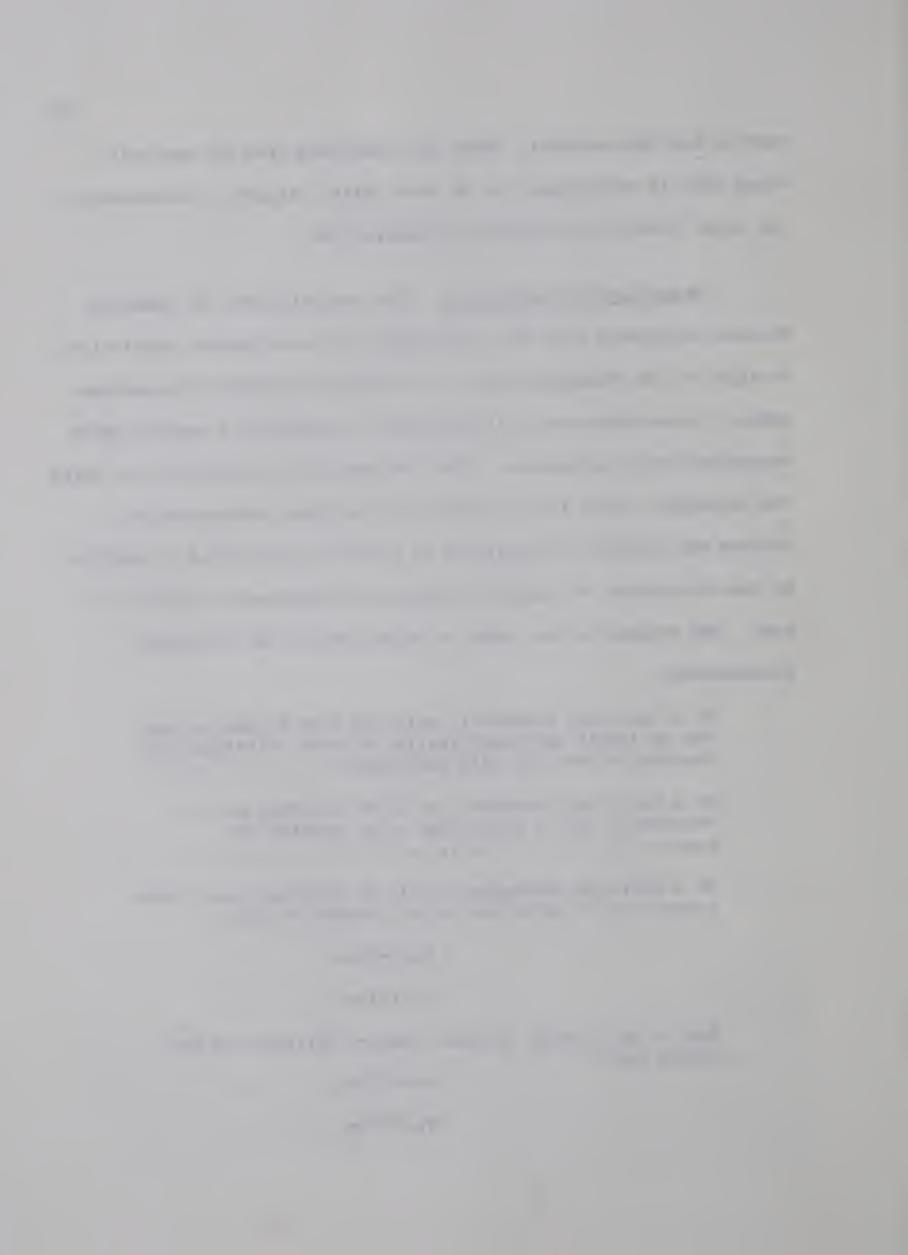
Because this study was concerned with aspects of the anticipated marital role, it was desired that the sample consist of unmarried females under the age of thirty. However, the nature of the data gathering procedure precluded excusing those females over thirty or those who were married from the classroom while the questionnaires were being administered. Thus 48 of the original 472 respondents



were or had been married. These were excluded from the analysis, along with 16 respondents in the over thirty category. Consequently, the total useable questionnaires numbered 408.

Measuring role preference. The possibilities of combining outside employment with the wife-mother role were varied, particularly in light of the changing needs of the family throughout the marriage cycle. It was therefore felt necessary to construct a measure which recognized these variations. Thus the question on the work role which the respondent would like to have after marriage and motherhood offered six possible combinations of work with motherhood in addition to the alternative of complete rejection of employment outside the home. The respondent was asked to select one of the following alternatives:

ives:	
for my family and particip	using my time to make a home ating in many activities but mployment
Be a full-time homemaker, university then I would ta home	ke a job outside the
Be a full-time homemaker, school then I would take a	until my children start grade job outside the home:
	Part-Time
	Full-Time
Take a job outside the hom school age:	e when my children are pre-
senoor age.	Part-Time
	Full-Time



The respondent was asked to indicate which one of the above she would <u>like</u> to do if she were married and had children. The response indicated her role preference.

The mother role presents a variety of possible restrictions on a woman's potential employment outside the home. In attempting to determine work orientation, the most reasonably lenient interpretation seemed to be to make the cutting point to include all respondents who wanted to be working (either full or part-time) at the latest by the time their children started grade school. It is at this point that if a woman wants outside employment she has a socially acceptable child care arrangement in the form of the public school system. This, then, comprised the category of work orientation.

Responses indicating a desire to work by the time children were in high school or university were termed combined role, and responses indicating a preference to be a full-time homemaker with no paid employment at any time were termed homemaker.

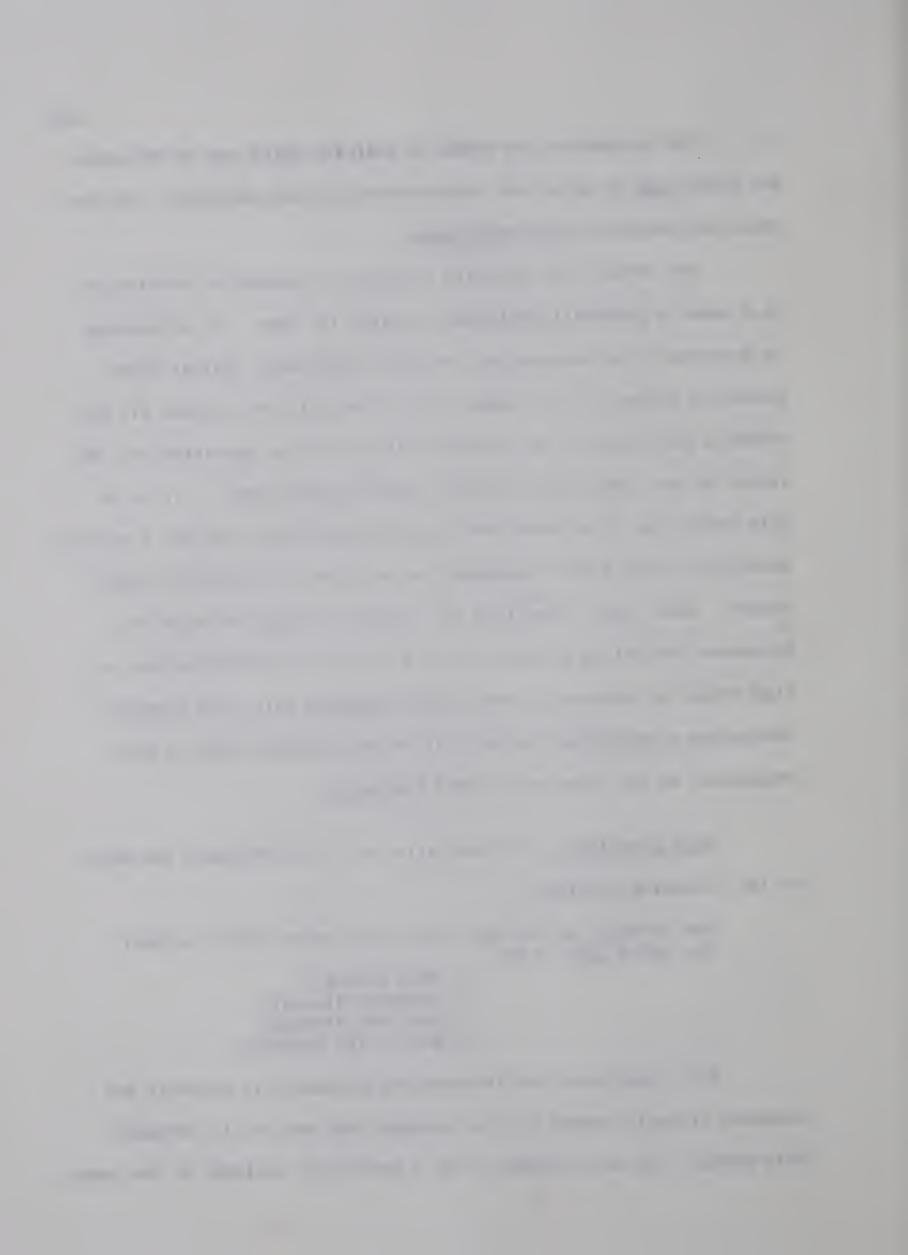
Role commitment. Determination of role commitment was made by the following question:

How strongly do you feel about your above choice of what you would <u>like</u> to do?

- 1. Very Strongly
- 2. Somewhat Strongly
- 3. Not very Strongly
- 4. Not at all Strongly

Role commitment was dichotomized between very strongly and somewhat strongly versus not too strongly and not at all strongly.

This measure was not intended to be a predictive variable in the sense



that it tells which role the respondents will actually follow. It is recognized that many factors come into consideration at different phases of the life cycle which would modify or reverse the present orientation of these young women. This measure indicates the strength of their commitment at this point in time.

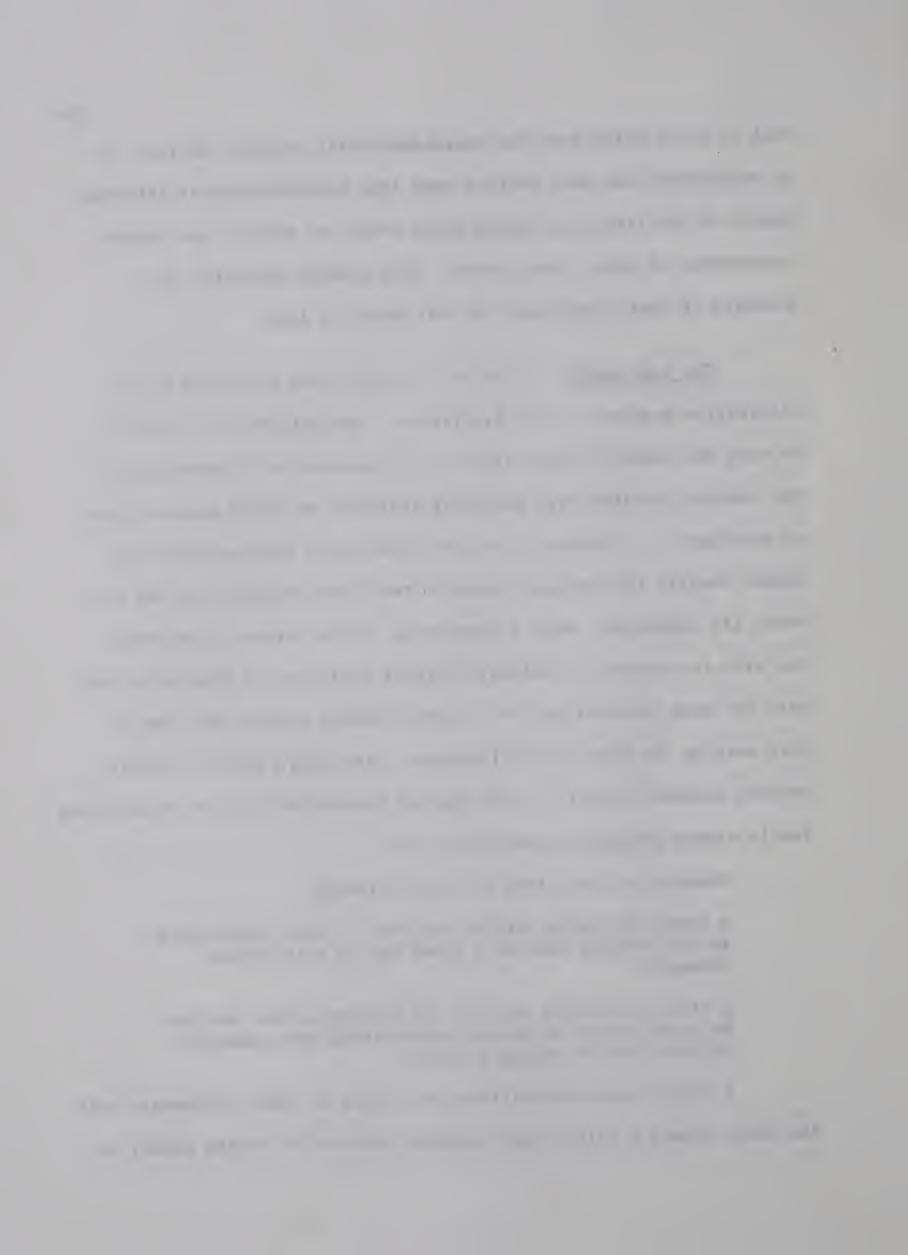
The role scale. A twelve item scale was developed as an alternative measure to role preference. The selection of items to be used was based to some extent on a discussion by Kirkpatrick on the changing marital role and characteristics of three general types of marriages: (1) domestic, or the traditional marriage with the female heavily involved in household tasks and dependent on her husband; (2) companion, more a phenomenon of the leisure class where the wife is expected to maintain herself socially and physically and make the home interesting for the other family members but take no work outside the home; and (3) partner, involving complete equality between husband and wife - each sharing responsibility for establishing family status through occupational roles. 7

Examples of the items are the following:

A woman who works outside the home is more interesting to her husband than is a woman who is a full-time homemaker.

A wife contributes more to the success of her marriage by being active in social entertaining and community affairs than by having a career.

A simple cross-classification of each of these statements with the other showed a fairly high positive correlation (using gamma) on



each item - except item 19:

If a man had to choose, he would rather have a very attractive wife of average intelligence than a wife who is very intelligent but not attractive.

and item 21:

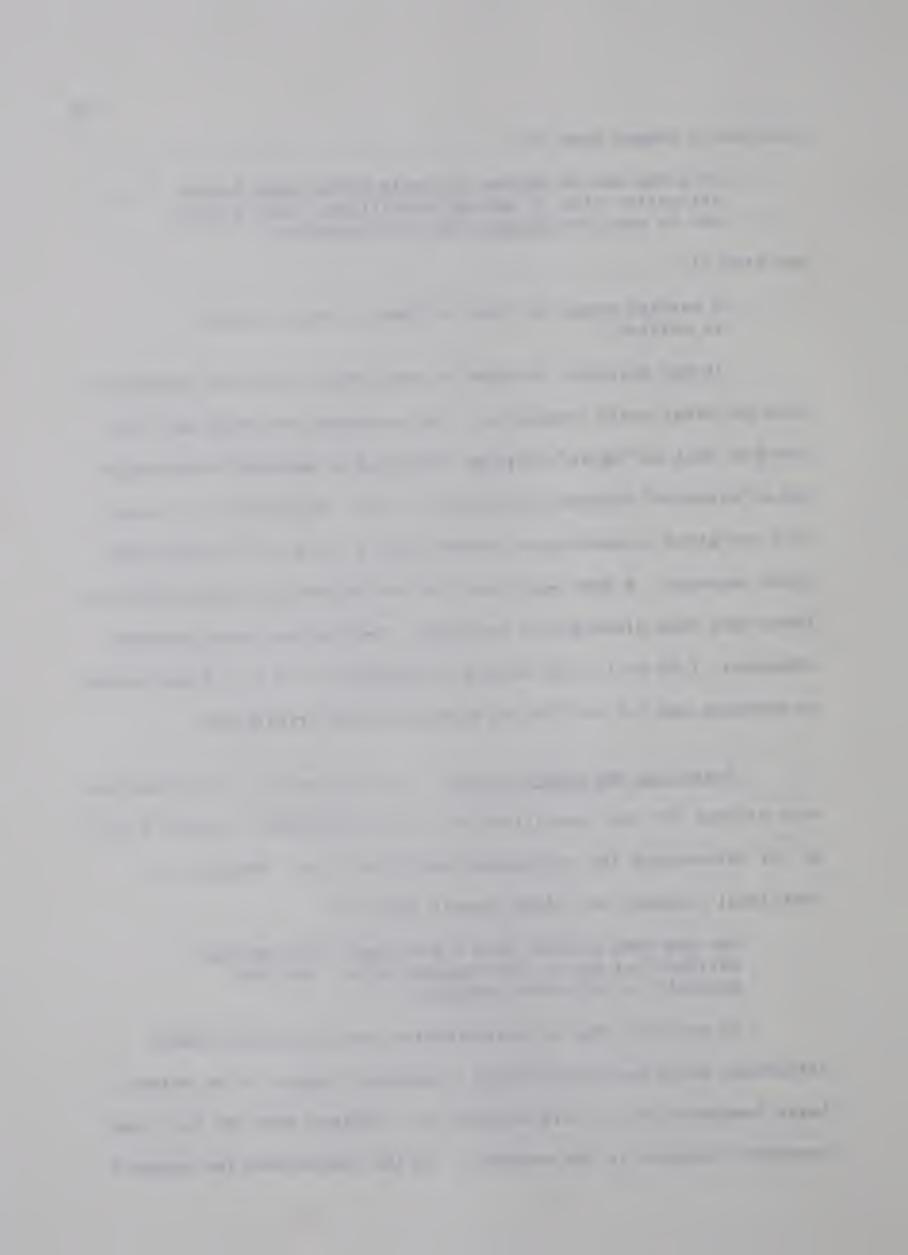
A married woman who does not want to have children is selfish.

It was therefore decided to treat these two items separately from the other scale components. The remaining ten items were recoded so that an "agree" response indicated a homemaker orientation and a "disagree" response indicated a work orientation. A score of 1 was given to each agree response and a score of 2 to each disagree response. A mean score was then determined for each individual. These were then divided into homemaker, combined and work oriented responses. 1.00 to 1.2 was scored as homemaker, 1.3 to 1.5 was scored as combined and 1.6 to 2.00 was scored as work orientation.

Measuring the mother's role. The same series of alternatives were offered for the classification of the respondents' mother's role as for determining the respondents' preferred role. However, an additional category was added, namely that of:

She did some outside work a few times after she had children but not on any regular basis. She was generally a full-time homemaker.

It was felt that this alternative would allow for family situations which had necessitated a temporary change in the mother's basic homemaker role. This category was combined with the full-time homemaker category in the analysis. In the tabulations the mother's



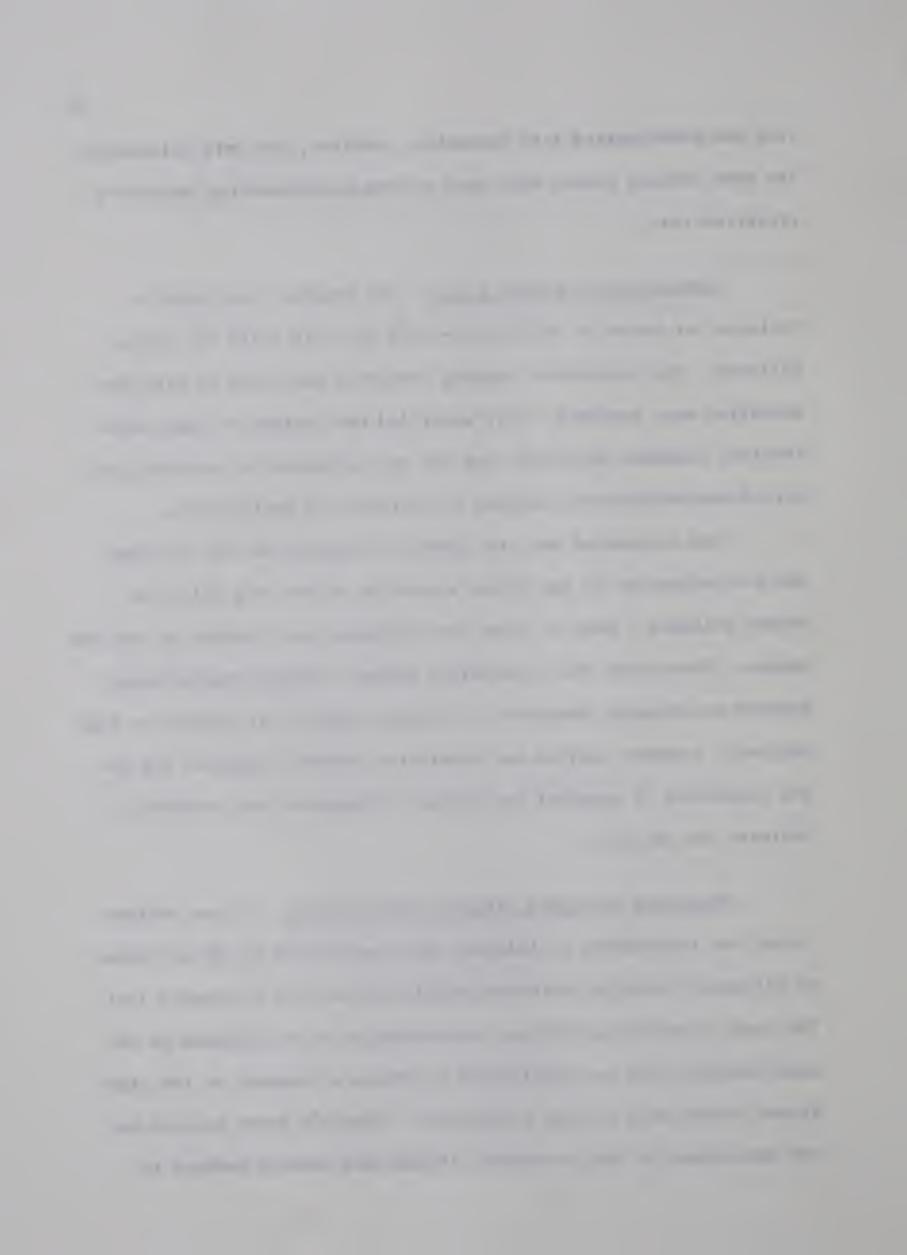
role was trichotomized into homemaker, combined, and work orientation.

The same cutting points were used as when trichotomizing daughter's preferred role.

Evaluation of mother's role. The daughter was asked to evaluate her mother's satisfaction with the role which the mother followed. Four categories ranging from very satisfied to very dissatisfied were provided. Very satisfied was treated as high satisfaction; somewhat satisfied, and the two categories of somewhat and very dissatisfied were combined to indicate low satisfaction.

The respondent was also asked to indicate her own attitude and her perception of her father's opinion of the role which the mother followed. Each of these two responses were treated in the same manner. There were four alternative answers ranging from strongly approve to strongly disapprove. Strongly approve was treated as high approval, somewhat approve was considered moderate approval and the two categories of somewhat and strongly disapprove were combined to indicate low approval.

Measuring perceived reference expectations. It was decided to ask the respondents to indicate their perception of the attitudes of different potential reference relationships from a prepared list. The task of selecting reference relationships to be included in the questionnaire list was facilitated by Denzin's research on the significant others of a college population. Denzin's study pointed out the importance of family members, friends and faculty members to



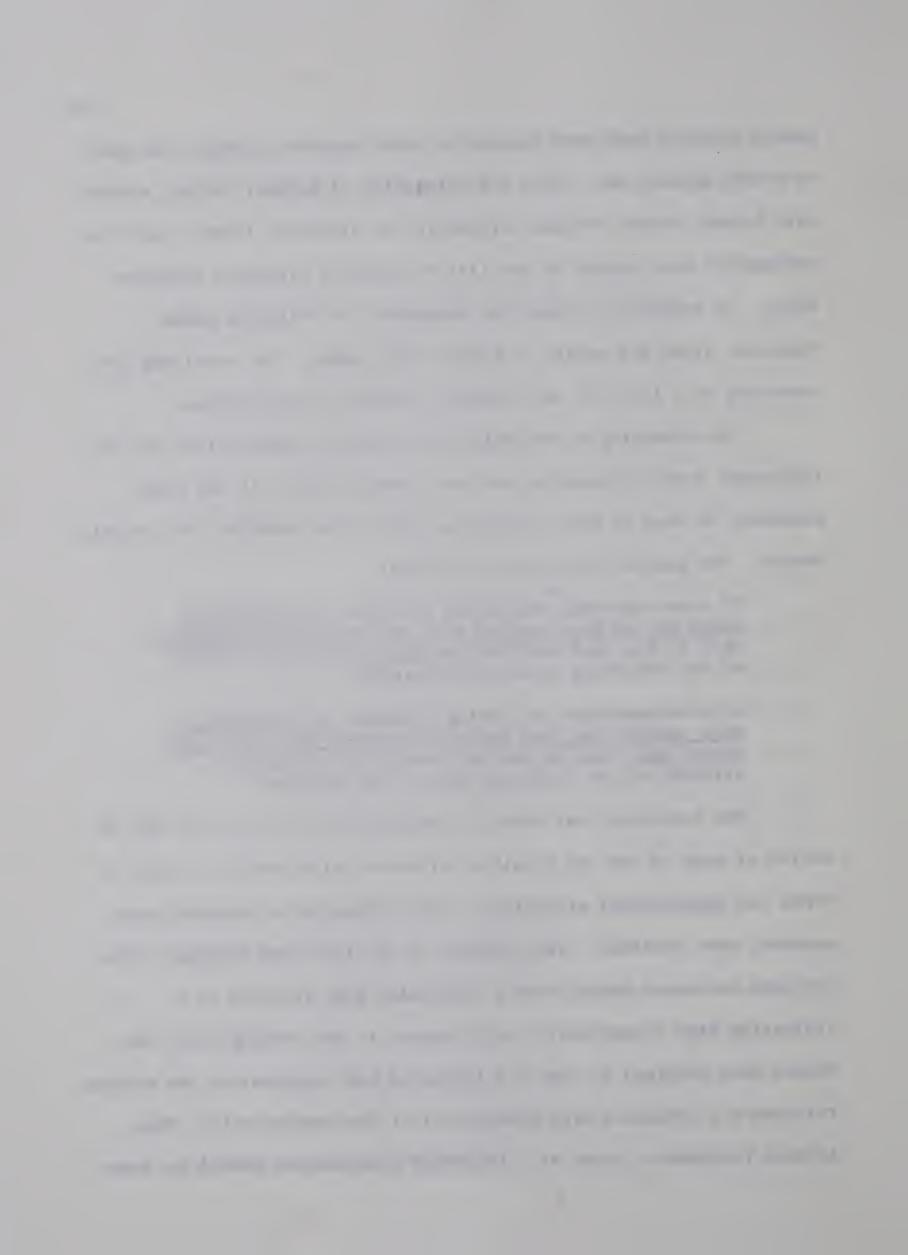
female students both with respect to their specific student role and in a more general way. Thus the categories of mother, father, closest male friend, female friends, brother(s) or sister(s) if any, and "your professors" were placed on the list of possible reference relationships. In addition to these the categories of religious group, hometown, clubs and people in general were added. The resulting list consisted of a total of ten possible reference relationships.

In attempting to determine the reference expectations for the individual female concerning her adult marital role, it was again necessary to keep in mind the various work roles possible for a married female. Two general questions were asked:

If after marriage and having children, <u>you decided to</u> <u>spend all of your married life as a full-time homemaker</u>, what do you feel would be the general attitude of each of the following about your decision?

If after marriage and having children, you decided to work outside the home and your children were still preschool age, what do you feel would be the general attitude of the following about your decision?

The respondent was asked to indicate her perception of the reaction of each of the ten possible reference relationships to each of these two hypothetical situations. Four categories of approval-disapproval were possible. With respect to the full-time homemaker role, attitude responses ranged from 1 indicating high approval to 4 indicating high disapproval. With respect to the working role, the scores were reversed so that a 4 indicated high approval of the working role and a 1 indicated high disapproval of the working role. Thus, in both responses a score of 1 indicated expectations toward the home-

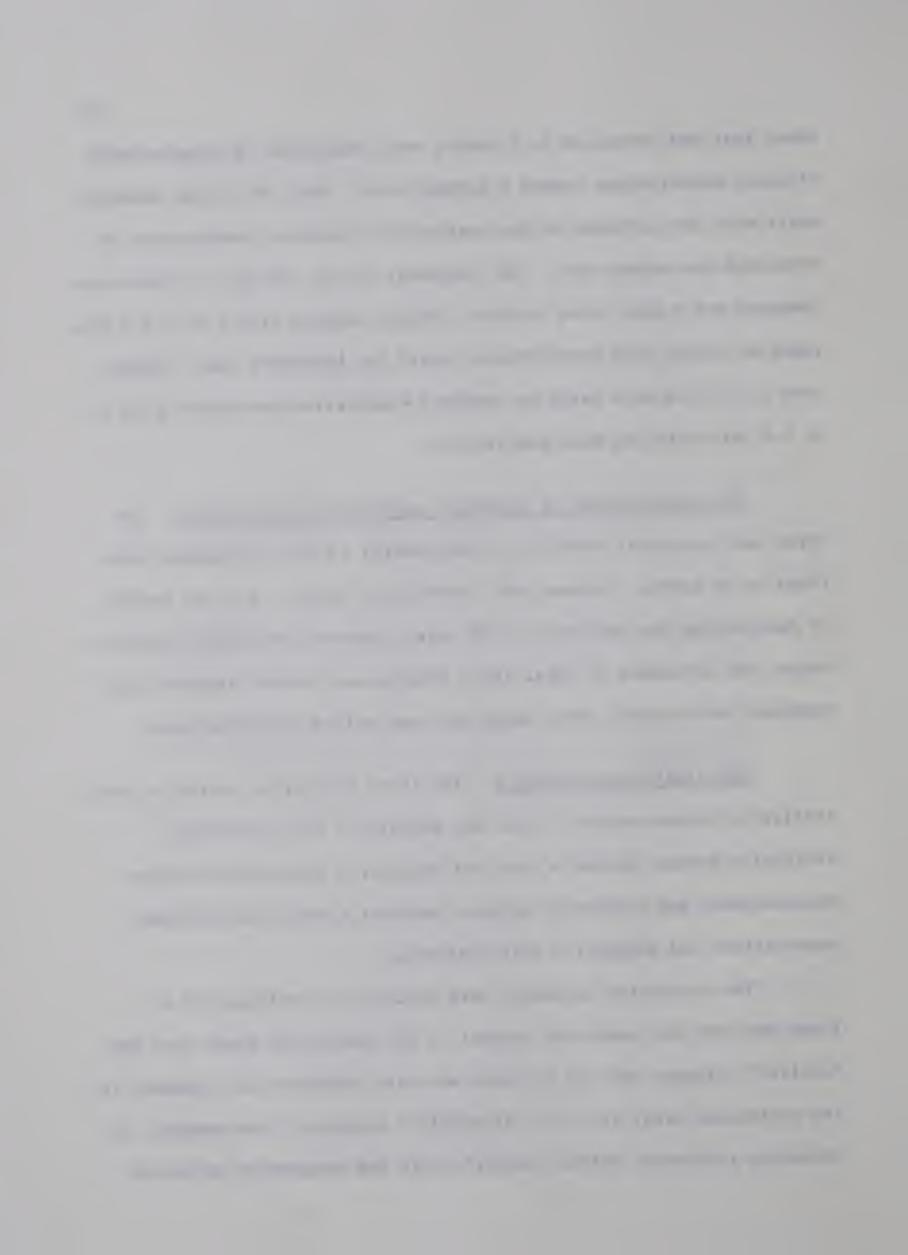


maker role and scores of 2, 3, and 4 were indicative of progressively stronger expectations toward a working role. Each of the two measures deals with the extremes of the continuum of possible combinations of work with the mother role. The responses on the two sets of items were combined and a mean score derived. Scores ranging from 1.0 to 1.6 were rated as having high expectations toward the homemaker role. Scores from 1.7 to 2.0 were rated as combined expectation and scores from 2.1 to 4.0 were rated as work expectation.

The expectations of important reference relationships. The three most important reference relationships to the respondents were found to be mother, father, and closest male friend. For the purpose of determining the influence of the most important reference relationships, the attitudes of these three sources were taken separately and combined into a total score using the same method described above.

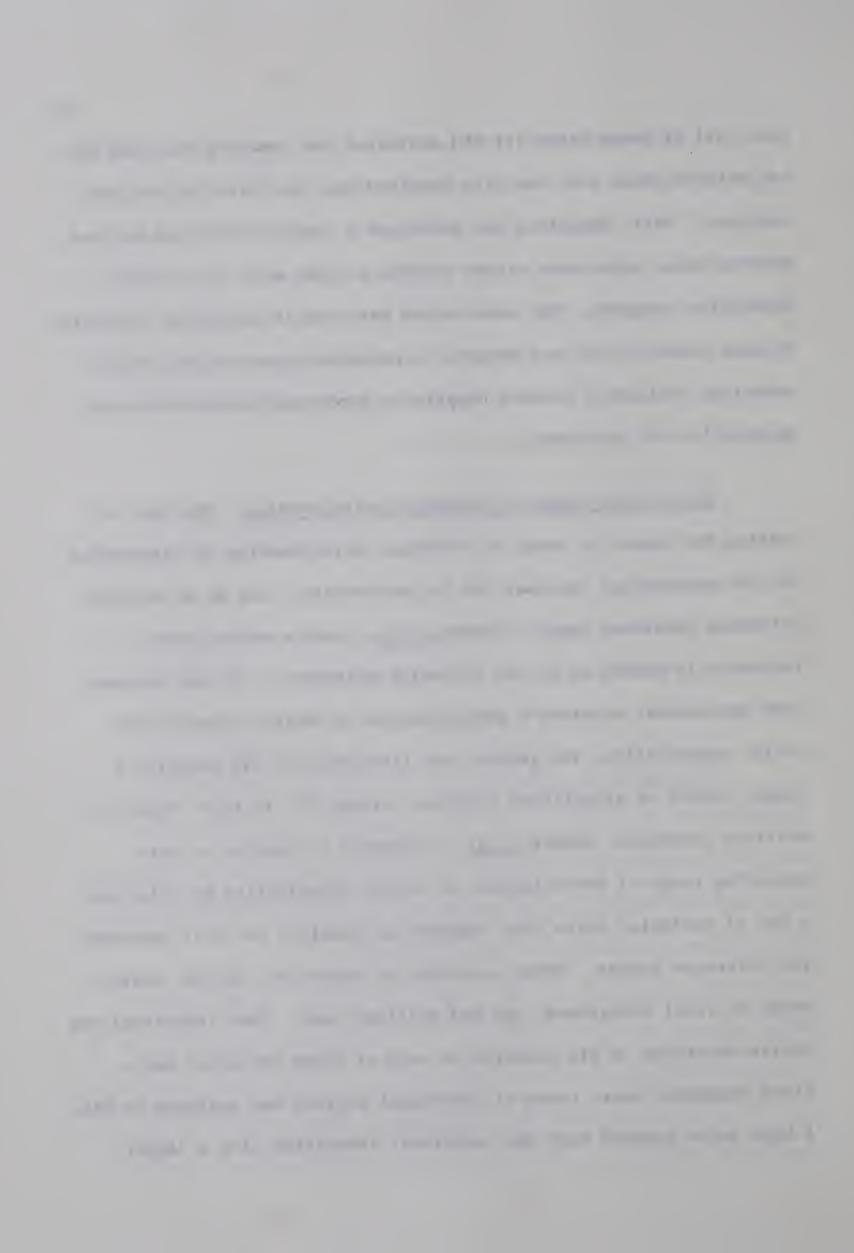
The similarity variables. The three similarity variables were: similarity between mother's role and daughter's role preference; similarity between mother's role and daughter's perceived reference expectations; and similarity between daughter's perceived reference expectations and daughter's role preference.

The similarity variables were handled by combining all of those who were the same with respect to the particular trait into the "similar" category and all of those who were different with respect to the particular trait into the "dissimilar" category. For example, in measuring similarity between mother's role and daughter's preferred



role, all of those daughters who preferred the combined role and who had mothers whose role was also combined were put into the similar category. While daughters who preferred a combined role and who had mothers whose roles were either working or home were put into the dissimilar category. The same method was used in measuring similarity between mother's role and daughter's perceived expectations and in measuring similarity between daughter's perceived expectations and daughter's role preference.

Determining range of reference relationships. The idea of testing the impact of range of reference relationships is interesting but the methodology involved can be problematic. How do we validly determine reference range? Reeder, et al., used a method whose rationale is summed up by the following statement: "It was assumed that the greater a person's participation in various forms of the social organization, the greater the likelihood of his adopting a larger number of significant reference groups."9 In their study of military personnel, Reeder, et al., attempted to develop a scale measuring range of participation in social organization by selecting a set of variables which they regarded as possibly the most important for reference groups. These consisted of education, marital status, urban or rural background, age and military rank. Each individual was scored according to his position on each of these variables and a final composite score (=sum of individual scores) was assigned to him. A high score assumed that the individual identified with a larger

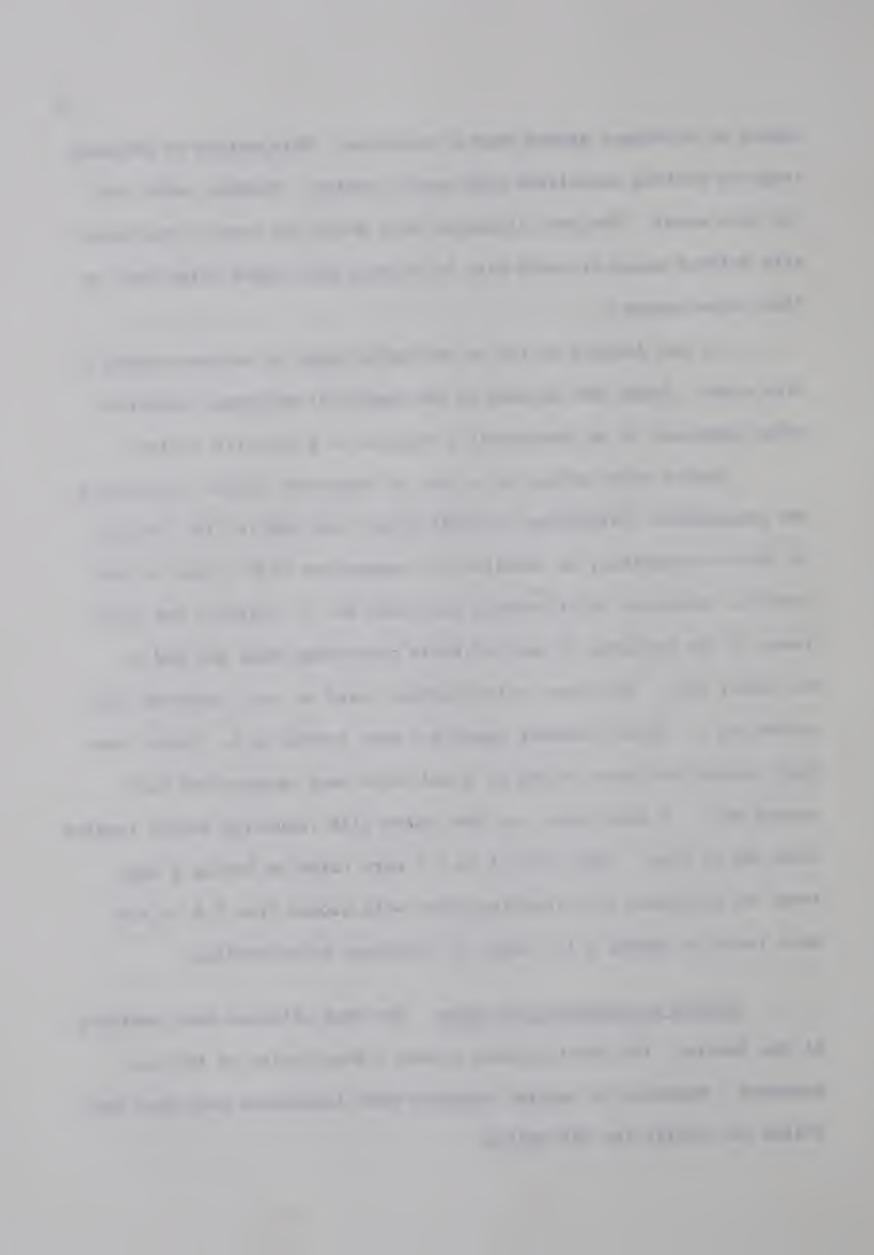


number of reference groups than a low score. This method of defining range is closely associated with social status. Further, what does the term mean? The very looseness with which the term is operationally defined means it could also be equated with vague terms such as "life experiences."

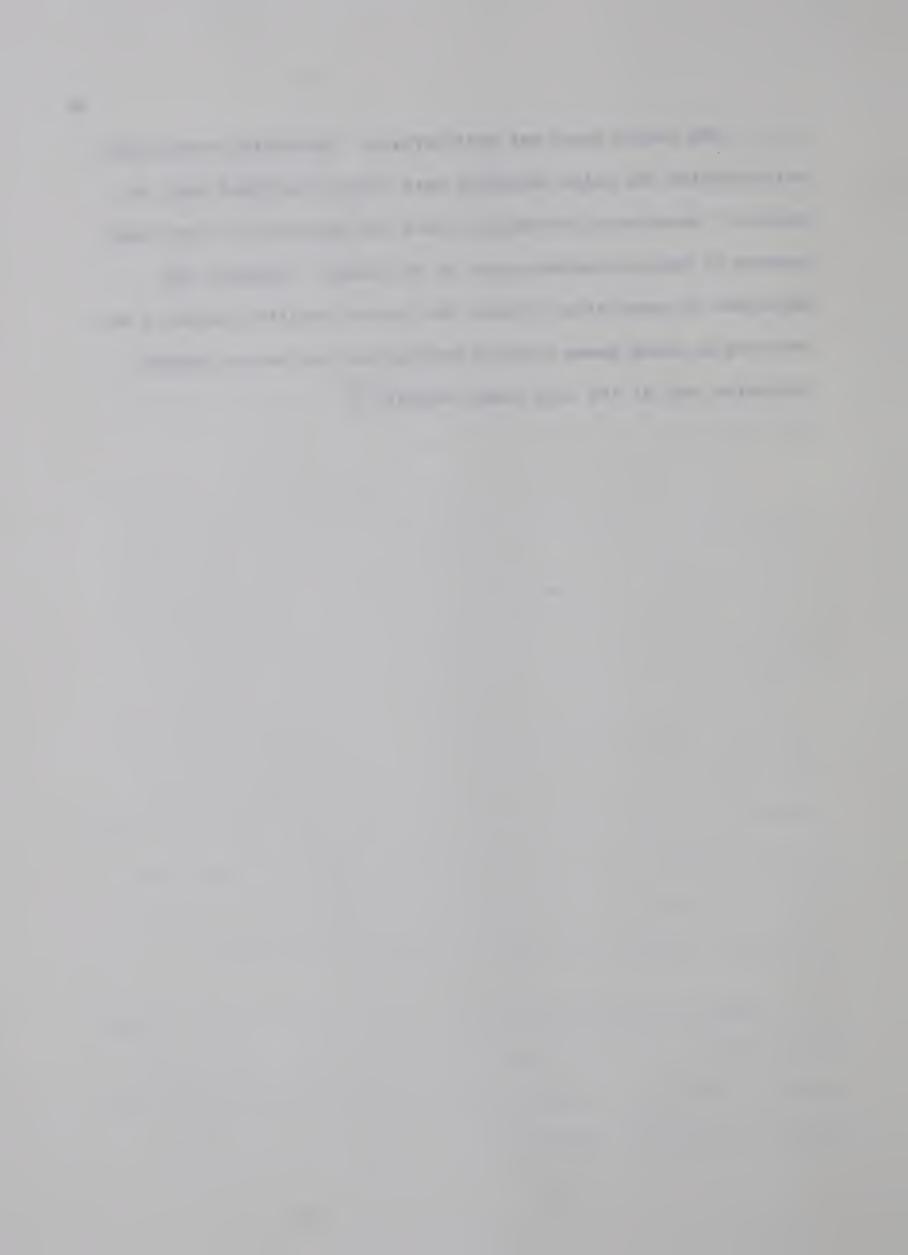
It was decided to try to determine range by another method in this study. Range was defined as the number of reference relationships important to an individual's opinion on a specific subject.

Rather than asking for a list of important people influencing the respondents' perception of their adult role and for the purposes of direct comparison, we supplied the respondent with a list of ten possible reference relationships and asked her to indicate the importance of the opinions of each of these concerning what she did in her adult life. Reference relationships rated as very important were scored as 1. Those somewhat important were scored as 2. Those somewhat unimportant were scored as 3 and those very unimportant were scored as 4. A mean score was then taken with resulting scores ranging from one to four. Those from 1 to 2.5 were rated as having a high range of reference relationships, those with scores from 2.6 to 4.0 were rated as having a low range of reference relationships.

Method of analyzing the data. The data obtained were analyzed at two levels. The first centers around a description of the respondents. Measures of central tendency were introduced here when they helped to clarify the discussion.



The second level was multivariate. To clarify statistical relationships the major variables were cross-classified with one another. Measures of probability were not applicable to the study because of the non-random nature of the sample. However, the magnitude of association between the cross-classified variables was measured by using gamma which is appropriate for use on ordered variables such as the ones under analysis. 10



FOOTNOTES

Department of Labour, Occupational Trends in Canada 1931-1961, Report No. 11., Ottawa: Queen's Printer, September 1963, p. 15.

For one of the more recent discussions of the misuse of tests of significance see, David Bakan, "The Test of Significance in Psychological Research," <u>Psychological Bulletin</u>, 66 (1966), pp. 423-437.

³Eight of the questionnaires were incomplete and thus were excluded from the analysis.

⁴There was some concern about whether this method might antagonize female students who were left behind. However, for the most part, transition was provided by the instructor or the writer so that there was relatively good rapport. In all classes some students lingered after completing the questionnaire to ask questions about the study itself.

⁵There was one refusal.

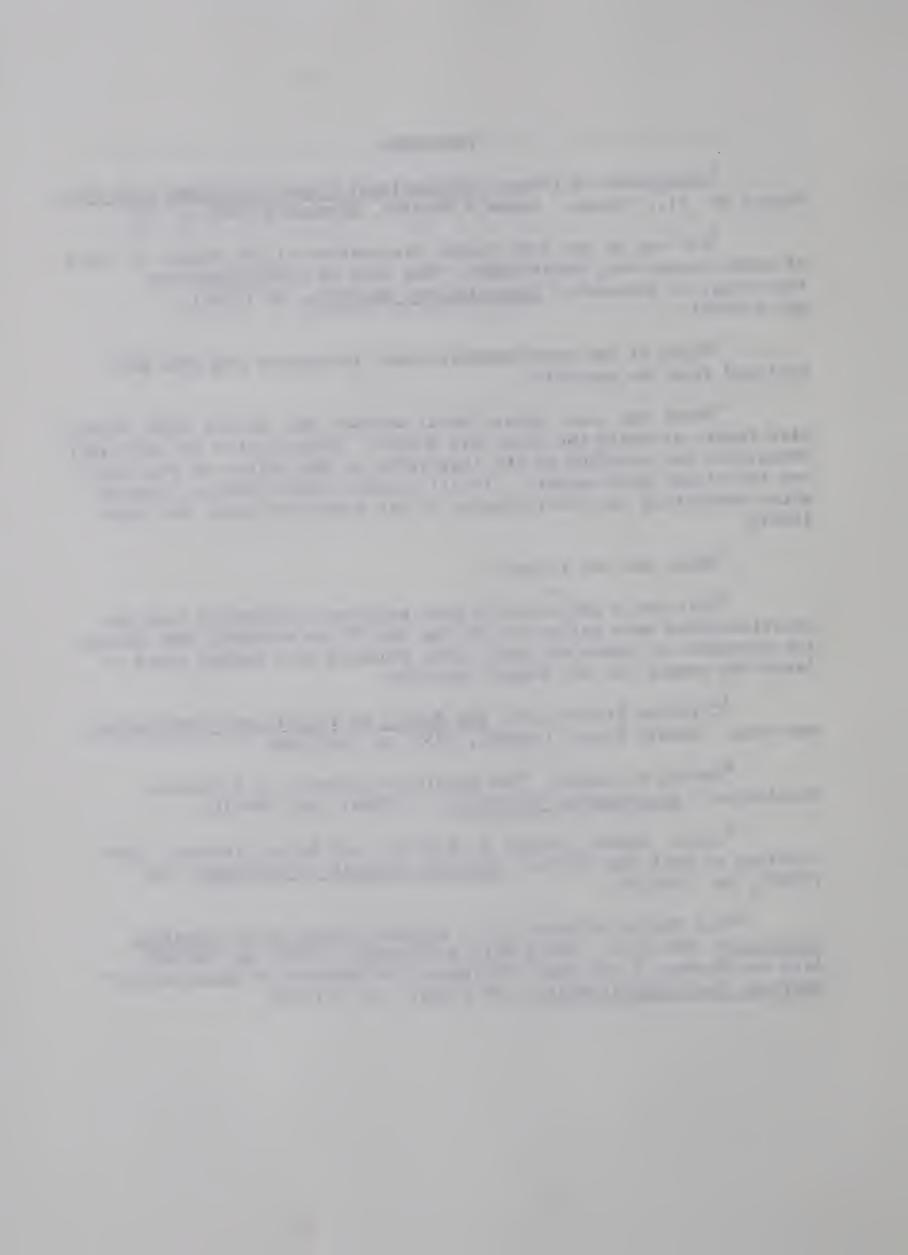
⁶This was a particularly good response considering that the questionnaires were mailed out at the end of the academic year during the pressures of exams and while many students were making plans to leave the campus for the summer vacation.

⁷Clifford Kirkpatrick, <u>The Family as Process and Institution</u>, New York: Ronald Press, Company, 1955, pp. 163-164.

Norman K. Denzin, "The Significant Others of a College Population," Sociological Quarterly, 7 (1966), pp. 298-311.

⁹Leo G. Reeder, George A. Donohue, and Arturo Biblarz, "Conceptions of Self and Others," <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, 66 (1960), pp. 153-159.

10 See Morris Zelditch, jr., <u>A Basic Course in Sociological</u>
<u>Statistics</u>, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959, pp. 163-201.
Also see Herbert L. Costner, "Criteria for Measures of Association," <u>American Sociological Review</u>, 30 (1965), pp. 341-353.



CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

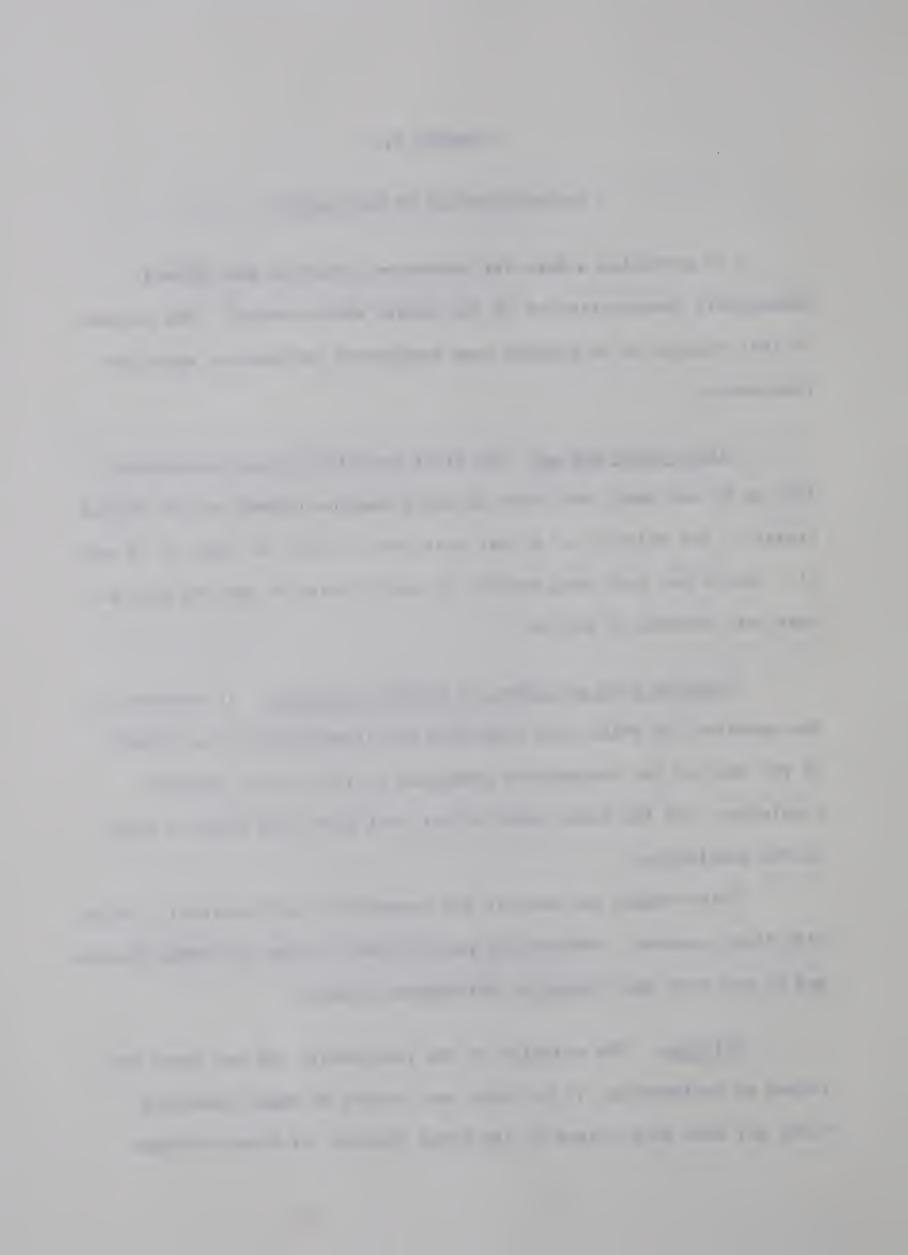
In providing a base for subsequent analysis some general demographic characteristics of the sample were examined. The purpose of this chapter is to provide some background information about the respondents.

Birth place and age. The great majority of the respondents (370 or 91 per cent) were born in North America (Canada or the United States). The majority or 84 per cent were between the ages of 18 and 21. Twelve per cent were between 22 and 24 years of age and four per cent were between 25 and 29.

Hometown size and place of current residence. In response to the question "In which size town have you lived most of your life?", 42 per cent of the respondents indicated a city of over 100,000 population. Of the total group 48 per cent were from towns of under 25,000 population.

Thirty-eight per cent of the respondents were currently living with their parents. Twenty-five per cent were living in campus housing and 37 per cent were living in off-campus housing

Religion. The majority of the respondents (69 per cent) were raised as Protestants, 17 per cent were raised as Roman Catholics, eight per cent were raised in the Greek Catholic or Greek Orthodox



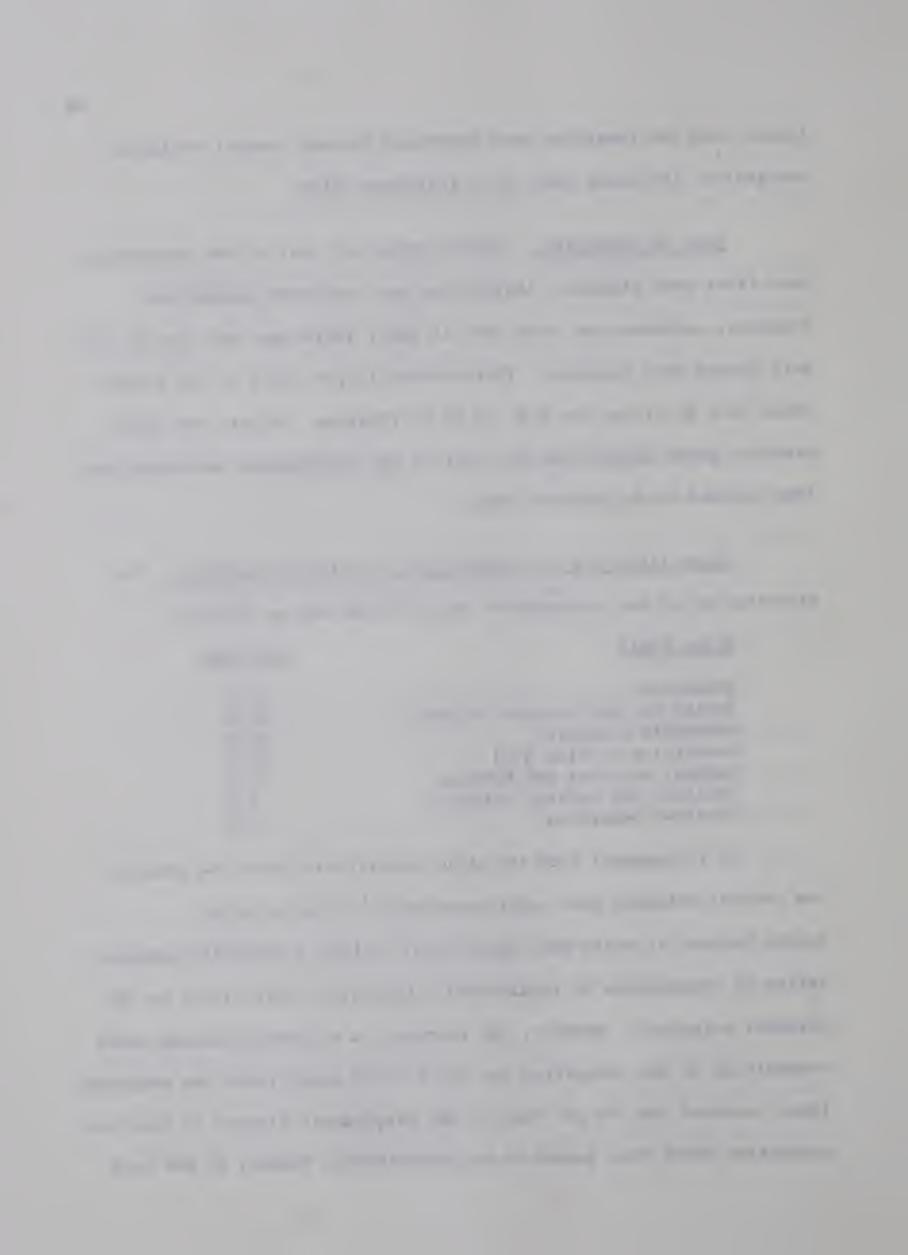
faiths, and the remainder were scattered through several religious categories, including that of no religious faith.

Year in University. Thirty-three per cent of the respondents were first year students, thirty-five per cent were second year students, seventeen per cent were in their third year and six per cent were fourth year students. Thirty-three (8 per cent) of the respondents were in either the M.A. or Ph.D. Programs. Within the undergraduate group thirty-four per cent of the respondents indicated that they planned to do graduate work.

Major field and sex composition of future occupation. The distribution of the respondents' major fields was as follows:

Major Field	Per Cent
Education	24.0
Social or psychological science	24.0
Household economics	22.0
Humanities or Fine Arts	12.0
Medical services and Nursing	7.0
Physical and natural sciences	7.0
Physical Education	4.0

It is apparent from the above distribution that the physical and natural sciences were underrepresented. This is unfortunate because it would have been useful to have a sizeable representation of respondents in traditionally masculine fields (such as the physical sciences). However, the response to a question, asking about composition of the occupation for which their major field was preparing them, revealed that 50 per cent of the respondents planned to enter an occupation which they judged to be predominantly female, 33 per cent



planned to enter an occupation that was occupied about evenly by males and females, and seventy respondents (17 per cent) indicated that their future occupation was predominantly male.

Number of children preferred. Only three per cent of the respondents preferred not to have any children. Responses on the number of children preferred were concentrated at three or more children. The distribution was as follows:

Number of Children	<u>Per Cent</u>
none	3.0
one	1.0
two	20.0
three	41.0
four or more	35.0

Birthplace of parents. The majority of the respondents' fathers and mothers were born in North America (79 per cent of the fathers and 82 per cent of the mothers). An additional nine per cent of the fathers and eight per cent of the mothers were born in the British Isles.²

Education of parents. On the average most of the respondents' fathers and mothers had had at least some high school training. The comparative distribution was as follows:

Education Completed	Fathers	Mothers ————————————————————————————————————
Grade 6 or less	8.0	4.0
Grade 7 - 9	25.0	21.0
Some high school	27.0	30.0
High school graduate	14.0	21.0
Some university	7.0	14.0
University graduate	12.0	9.0
Two or more university degrees	7.0	1.0

It can be seen that 26 per cent of the fathers and 24 per cent of the mothers had experienced at least some college training.

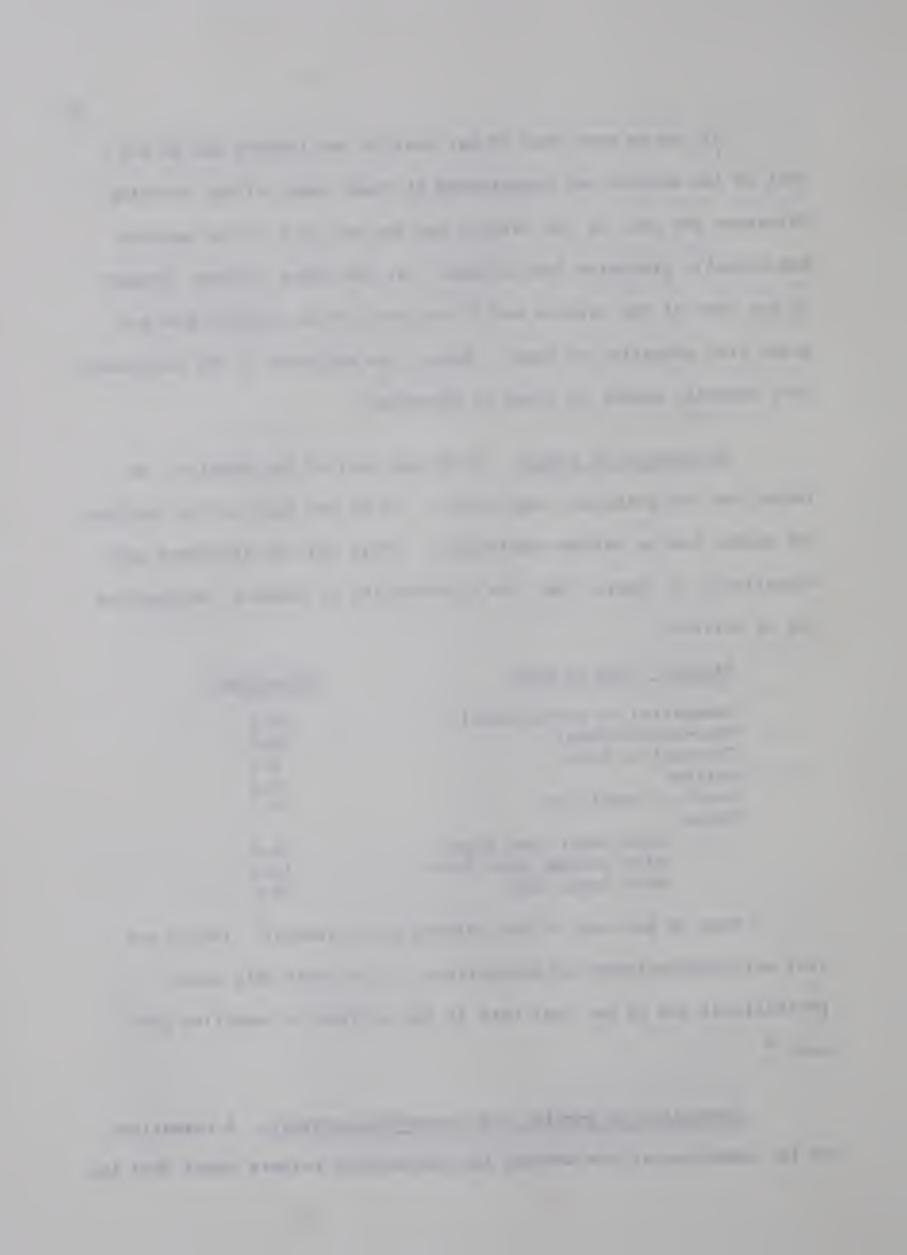
(Nineteen per cent of the fathers and ten per cent of the mothers had actually graduated from college. At the other extreme, however, 33 per cent of the fathers and 25 per cent of the mothers had had grade nine education or less). Hence, the majority of the respondents were upwardly mobile in terms of education.

Occupation of father. In 94 per cent of the families the father was the principal wage earner. In 61 per cent of the families the mother had no outside employment. (This will be discussed more extensively in Chapter IV.) The distribution of fathers' occupations was as follows:

Fathers' Type of Work	Percentage
Managerial or professional Semi-professional Clerical or Sales Skilled Semi- or unskilled	20.0 25.0 9.0 16.0 6.0
Farmer: with small size farm with average size farm with large farm	4.0 15.0 5.0

Some 24 per cent of the fathers were farmers.³ Twenty per cent were professionals or managerials, 25 per cent were semiprofessional and 22 per cent were in the skilled or unskilled category.⁴

Comparison of working and non-working mothers. A comparison of the education of the working and non-working mothers shows that the



educational level of the working mothers is considerably higher than that of the non-working mothers. Thirty-four per cent of the working mothers have had a minimum of some university experience in contrast to only 18 per cent of the non-working mothers.

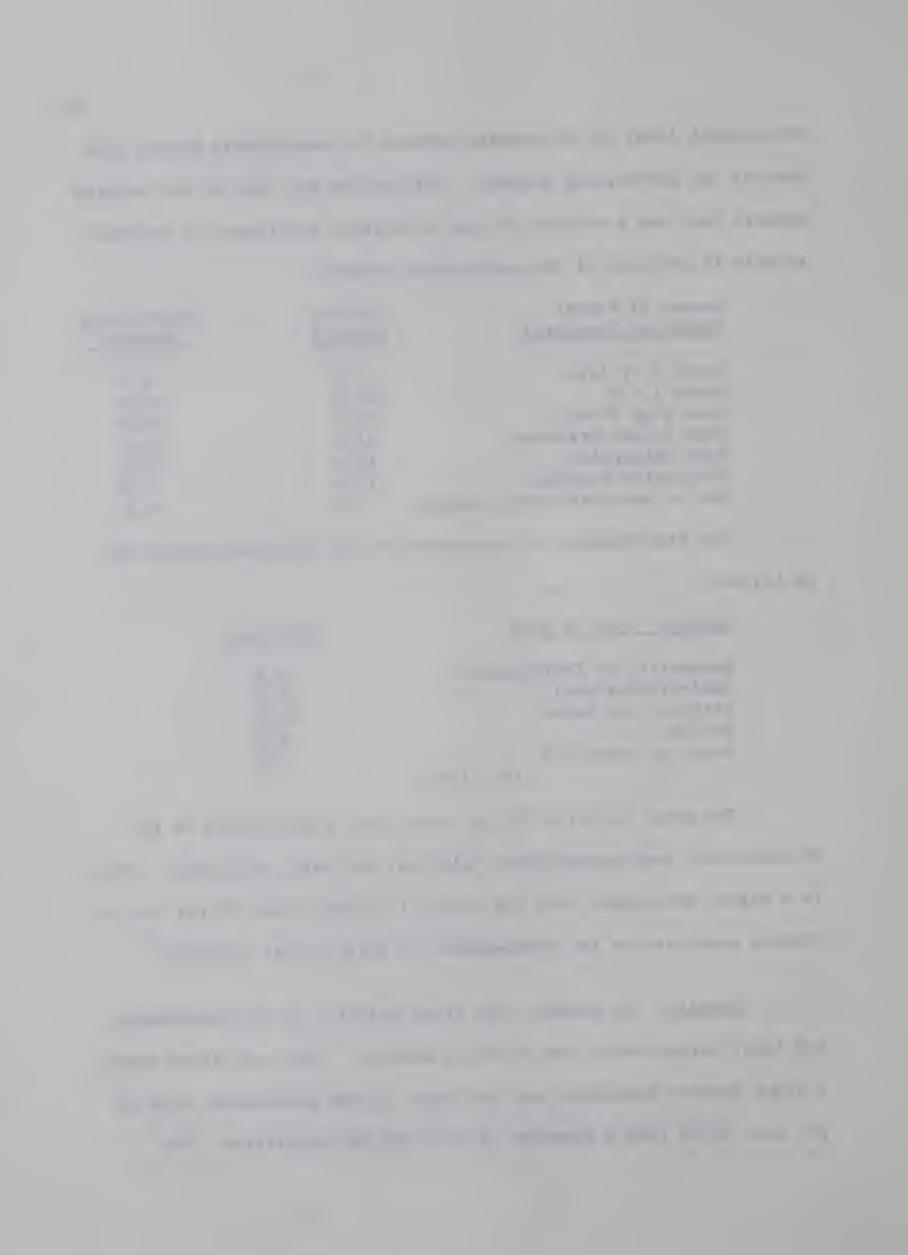
Amount of Formal Education Completed	Working Mothers	Non-Working <u>Mothers</u>
Grade 6 or less	4.0	4.0
Grade 7 - 9	14.0	25.0
Some High School	27.0	32.0
High School Graduate	21.0	21.0
Some University	19.0	11.0
University Graduate	12.0	7.0
Two or more University degrees	3.0	0.0

The distribution of occupations of the employed mothers was as follows:

Mothers' Type of Work	Percentage
Managerial or Professional	2.0
Semi-professional	36.0
Clerical and Sales	45.0
Skilled	8.0
Semi- or unskilled	9.0
(N = 149)	

The great majority (83 per cent) were concentrated in the professional, semi-professional, clerical and sales categories. This is a higher percentage than the national average where 73 per cent of working women are in the professional or white collar category.⁵

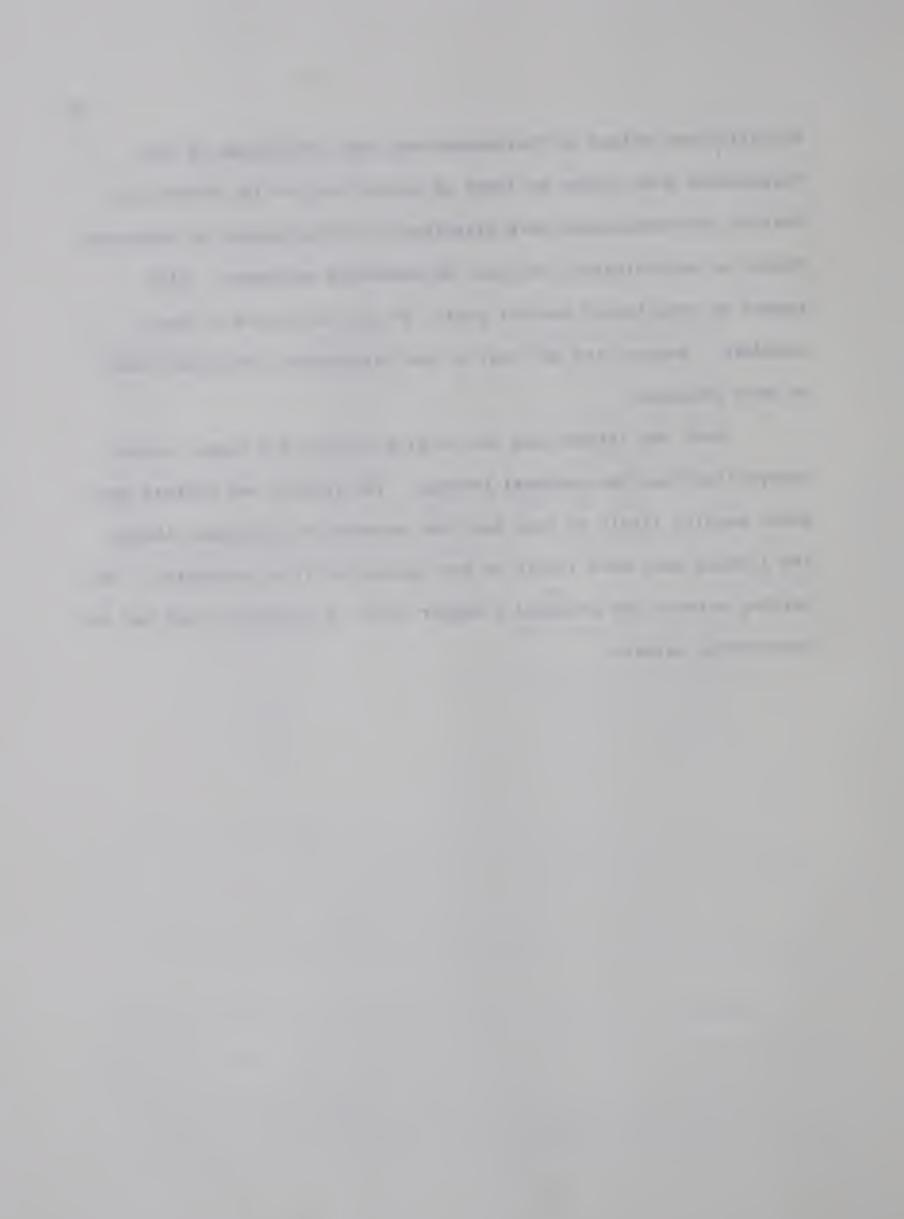
Summary. In summary, the great majority of the respondents and their parents were born in North America. They were about evenly divided between hometowns over and under 25,000 population, with 42 per cent being from a hometown of over 100,000 population. The



majority were raised as Protestants and some two-thirds of the respondents were either in first or second year at the University.

Most of the respondents were distributed between majors in education, social or psychological science, or household economics. With regard to anticipated marital goals, 97 per cent hoped to have children. Seventy-six per cent of the respondents preferred three or more children.

Both the fathers and the working mothers had higher status occupations than the national average. The fathers and mothers were about equally likely to have had some university experience though the fathers were more likely to have graduated from university. The working mothers had attained a higher level of education than had the non-working mothers.



FOOTNOTES

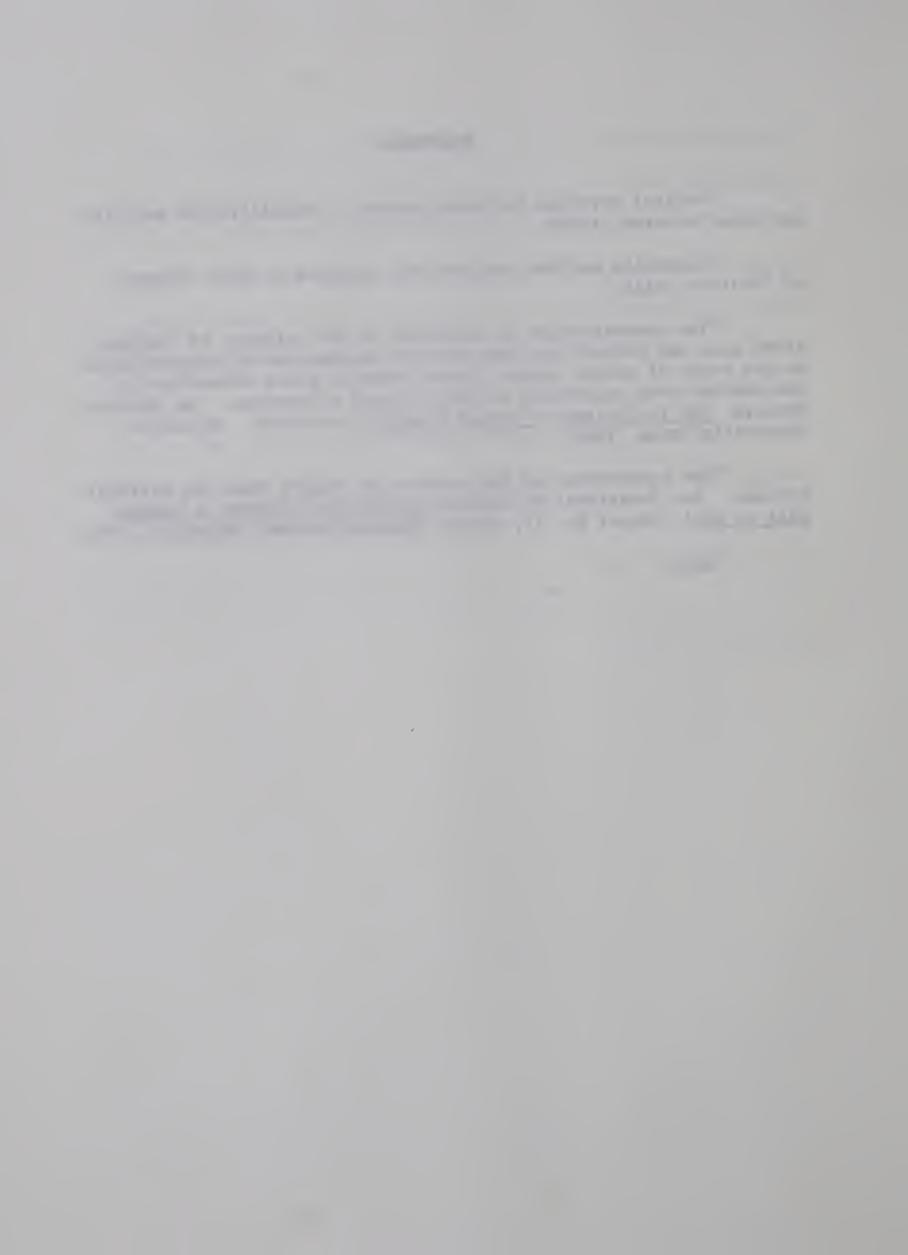
¹Medical services included pharmacy, rehabilitative medicine and other related fields.

Australia and New Zealand were included in this category of "British Isles."

³The concentration of responses in the category of "average size" farm may reflect the same sort of tendency which Centers found in his study of social class: people tend to place themselves in the middle class regardless of their actual occupation. See Richard Centers, <u>The Psychology of Social Classes</u>, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949.

⁴The occupations of the fathers are higher than the national average. See Department of Labour, <u>Occupational Trends in Canada</u>
1931 to 1961, Report No. 11, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, September, 1963.

5 Ibid.



CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS: THE INFLUENCE OF REFERENCE RELATIONSHIPS

"If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer."

Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862)

The perceived attitudes of those whom an individual regards as important are crucial influences on his perception of events and the attitudes which he holds. This chapter analyzes the influence of reference relationships in terms of the major hypotheses outlined in the first chapter. The hypotheses attempted to deal with a set of factors surrounding a young woman's marital role preference. The particular concern was with situations which separately and when in congruence or similarity to others act to reinforce the perceptual scheme.

In the development of the theoretical scheme of this research, emphasis was placed on the influence of the mother. Table 1 shows the ranking of the reference relationships by importance to the respondents. This lends support to the assumption that the mother is of particular importance to the daughter. A total of 92 per cent of the daughters rated the mother in the very important and somewhat important categories. The father ranked closely behind with a total of 88 per cent of the daughters placing him in the important categories. The third highest ranking reference relationship was that of closest male friend with a total of 79 per cent of the respondents putting him into

the two important categories. Within the family of orientation, however, siblings did not fair as well. Though this was the fourth highest category of the ten, the rating on "very important" drops sharply to 23 per cent with 45 per cent of the respondents rating siblings as somewhat important. Increasing influence from outside the nuclear family is thus apparent in these young women.

TABLE 1

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE TEN REFERENCE GROUPS

TO THE RESPONDENTS

	eference nd Rank	Very	ting (Somewhat Important	Given Somewhat Unimportant	Very Unimportant	Total Percent N
1.	Mother	48%	44%	6%	2%	(100) 402
2.	Father	45	43	8	4	(100) 397
3.	Closest Male Friend	43	36	17	4	(100) 404
4.	Sibling(s)	23	45	23	9	(100) 385
5.	Female Friends	12	53.	29	6	(100) 405
6.	People in General	7	40	30	23	(100) 406
7.	Religious Group	11	30	30	29	(100) 403
8.	Professors	5	30	35	30	(100) 407
9.	Club(s)	4	22	36	38	(100) 404
10.	Hometown	3	19	32	46	(100) 404



Perception of the attitudes of the ten reference relationships.

Comparing Tables 2 and 3, the obvious message is the overwhelming perception of the appropriateness of the full-time homemaker role.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF PERCEIVED ATTITUDES TOWARD THE RESPONDENTS BEING FULL-TIME HOMEMAKERS

Reference	Strongly Approve	Somewhat Approve	Somewhat Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove	Total % N
Mother	51%	38%	10%	1%	(100) 387
Father	50 _°	38	11.	1.	(100) 376
Closest Male					
Friend	38.	45	15.	2.	(100) 384
Female Friend	19.	54.	25.	2.	(100) 384
Religious	40.	54	5 .	1.	(100) 367
Group	40.	54)	L ,	(100) 367
Home town	24。	61	13.	2.	(100) 368
Siblings	25	55.	18.	2.	(100) 362
Clubs	10.	63	26.	1.	(100) 370
Professors	4	38	48	11.	(100) 370
People in					
General	13.	68	18.	1	(100) 379

The percentage of the respondents who perceive reference relationships as strongly approving, let alone adding in those who are perceived as somewhat approving, attests to the influences working on the young



educated woman. Minority attitudes of approval of working roles are very subtle. Where such approval exists, the proportion who are perceived as strongly disapproving of the full-time homemaker role are negligible as are the perceived proportions strongly approving of the young woman working outside the home when her children are small. The attitudes of father and mother are perceived as very similar with some

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF PERCEIVED ATTITUDES TOWARD THE RESPONDENTS WORKING

OUTSIDE THE HOME WHEN THEIR CHILDREN ARE PRE-SCHOOL AGE

Reference	Strongly Approve	Somewhat Approve	Somewhat Disapprove	Strongly <u>Total</u> Disapprove % N
Mother	1%	11%	44%	45% (100) 385
Father	1.	10	45	44 (100) 373
Closest Male Friend	1.	12.	45	42 (100) 381
Female Friends	1.	16	62	21 (100) 382
Religious Group	1.	5	58.	36 (100) 367
Home town	1	14.	68	17 (100) 372
Siblings	1	15 .	61.	23 (100) 364
Clubs	1	22	70	8 (100) 362
. Professors	3	44.	47	6 (100) 366
People in General	1	18	65	16 (100) 377



50 per cent of the respondents viewing both father and mother as strongly approving and some 38 per cent of the respondents viewing them as somewhat approving of the full-time homemaker role.

The reference relationship which is regarded as most encouraging toward a work role is that of the professors, though again even their perceived attitude toward this role is not very emphatic.

Only 11 per cent viewed their professors as strongly disapproving of the respondent being a full-time homemaker all her married life, while some 48 per cent see their professors as somewhat disapproving. At the level of having pre-school age children, where most criticisms of working mothers concentrate, only three per cent of the respondents saw their professors as strongly approving of them working.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON BETWEEN TOTAL MOTHERS' ROLE PERFORMANCE

AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DAUGHTERS'

ROLE PREFERENCE

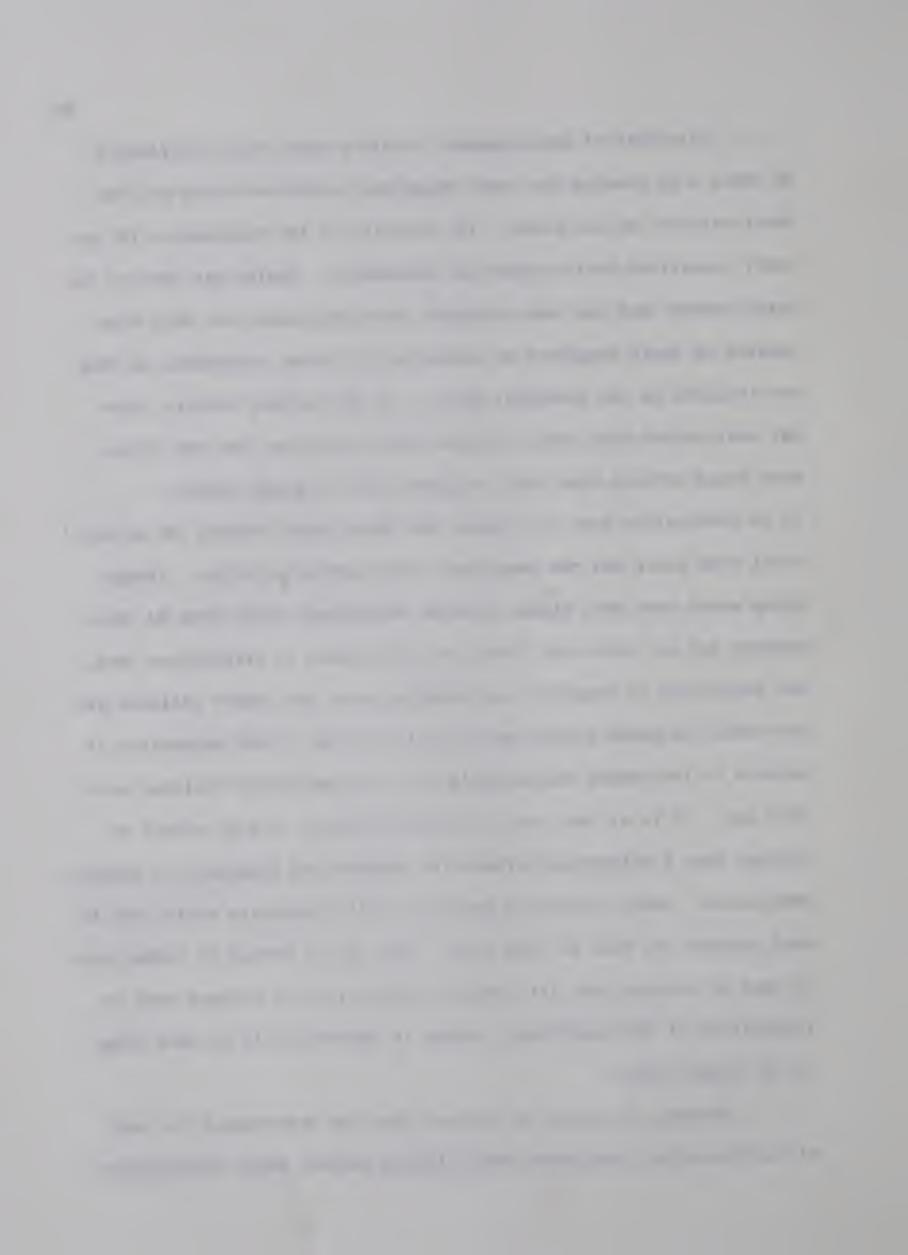
Role	Mothers Role	Daughters' Role Preference
Homemaker	60.7%	32.3%
Work when children are in High School or University	10.6	35.8
Work when children are in grade school	20.1	23.7
Work when children are pre-school	8.6	8.2
N=407	(100.0)	N=393 (100.0)



in Table 4 by showing the total daughters' preferred roles and the total mothers' actual roles. The majority of the respondents (61 per cent) classified their mothers as homemakers. Twelve per cent of the total mothers had had some irregular work experience but they were labeled by their daughters as basically full-time homemakers so they are included in the homemaker group. Of the working mothers, nine per cent worked when their children were pre-school age and 20 per cent began working when their children were in grade school. It is interesting here to compare the percentages between the mothers' total work roles and the daughters' total preferred roles. Though young women have much higher average educational level than do their mothers and are thus more likely to have access to prestigious jobs, the proportion of daughters anticipating work when their children are pre-school or grade school age is quite similar to the proportion of mothers in the sample who actually did work when their children were this age. It is at the level of having children in high school or college that a difference between the mothers and daughters is sharply manifested. About thirty-six per cent of the daughters would like to work outside the home at this time. This desire cannot be looked upon so much as serious work (or career) orientation but perhaps more as recognition of the significant change in maternal role at this stage in the family cycle.

This lack of encouragement toward a work role is reflected

However, it cannot be assumed that the percentages for work at the pre-school and grade school levels reflect basic similarities



between the generations. The similarities may be only superficial.

At all points in the reported work experience of the mothers, we are not able to evaluate whether this work was undertaken because of the mother's preference or because of necessity. Whereas with the daughters, we can generally assume that their responses do reflect a preference. They would not be in a position to anticipate particular family hardships.

Hypothesis 1. The role of the mother is one of positional importance to the daughter and it is the mother who usually acts as the daughter's first and, for a long time, most intense sex role model. Thus hypothesis 1 stated: Mother's role will be associated with daughter's role preference. Examination of Table 5 reveals that on the basis of the mother's role alone (without considering either the daughter's evaluation or influences from other sources) there is

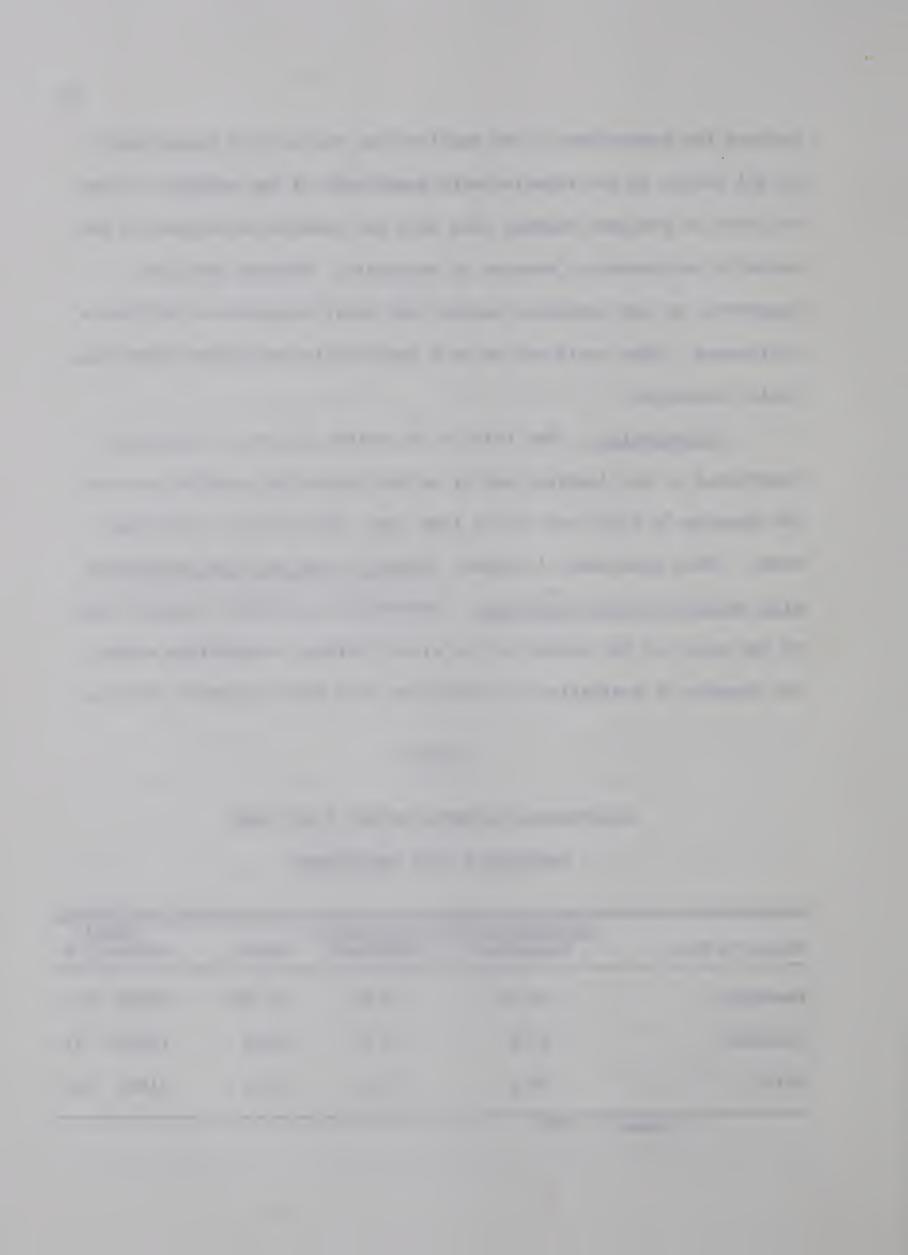
TABLE 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTHER'S ROLE AND

DAUGHTER'S ROLE PREFERENCE

Mother's Role	Daughter's Rol Homemaker	e Preference Combined	Work	<u>Totals</u> Percent	
Homemaker	39.4%	33.6%	27.0%	(100) 241	
Combined	23.8	47.6	28.6	(100) 42	
Work	20.0	36.4	43.6	(100) 110	

(gamma = .30)



a moderate relation between mother's role and daughter's role preference (gamma = .30). Though tests of significance are not appropriate in this research because of the non-random nature of the sample, with 388 cases the Z score was 2.64. If this were a random sample, the findings would be significant at better than the .01 level. For the purposes of this research, as the number of cases is more than 300, gammas of over .20 will be regarded as moderate and considered to lend support for the hypotheses.

Thus, the hypothesis that mother's role is associated with daughter's role preference is supported by the data. This lends support to a crucial part of the theoretical structure of this research which is dependent upon the influence of the mother. Without considering any other conditions which may act to encourage or discourage emulation of the mother, the mother's role is related to the daughter's role preference.

Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 states: Similarity between mother's role and daughter's role preference will be associated with high evaluation of mother's role. As can be seen in Table 6, there is a high relation (gamma = .62) between similarity between mother's role and daughter's role preference and high evaluation of mother's role. Of those respondents who preferred the same role which their mother followed, 66 per cent had a high evaluation of their mother's role. Of those who preferred a role different from that which their mother followed only 32 per cent had a high evaluation of their mother's role. Thus the hypothesis is supported. It should be pointed out, however,



RELATIONSHIP OF
SIMILARITY BETWEEN MOTHER'S ROLE AND ROLE PREFERENCE
TO EVALUATION OF MOTHER'S ROLE

TABLE 6

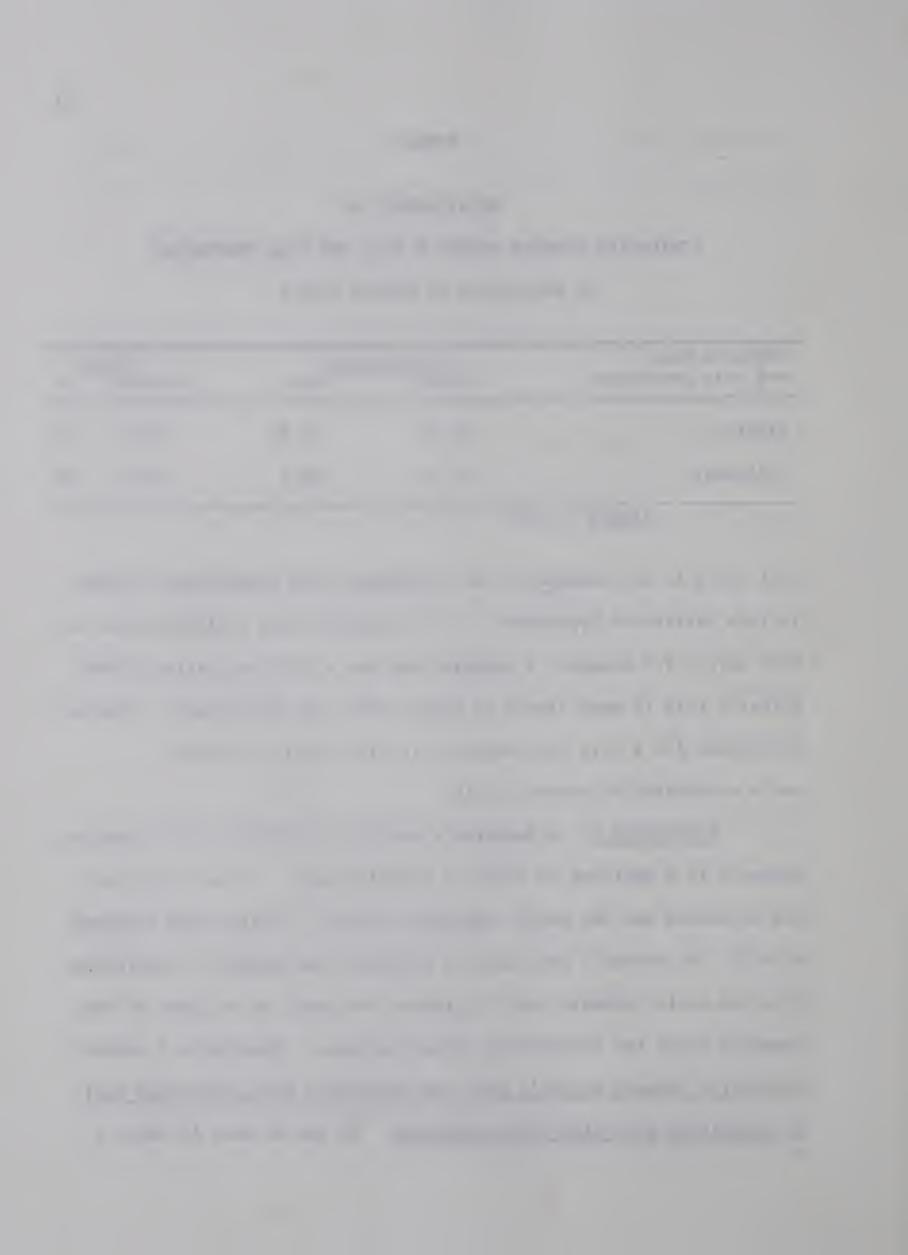
Mother's role	Evalua	Total		
and role preference	High	Low	Percent N	
Similar	66.2%	33.8%	(100) 163	
Different	31.6	68.4	(100) 228	
(commo = 6	2)			

(gamma = .62)

that there is not intended to be a dependent and independent variable in this particular hypothesis. It is realized that evaluation can run both ways. For example, a daughter who has a high evaluation of her mother's role is more likely to choose that role for herself. However, preference for a role like mother's is also likely to affect one's evaluation of mother's role.

Hypothesis 3. A daughter's decision to follow a role like her mother's is a decision to follow a familiar path. It is a role she has witnessed and one which, therefore, doesn't involve many unknowns. As such, the mother's role acts to reinforce the daughter's preferred role and would probably lead to greater certainty on the part of the daughter about the correctness of her decision. Hypothesis 3 states:

Similarity between mother's role and daughter's role preference will be associated with high role commitment. As can be seen in Table 7,

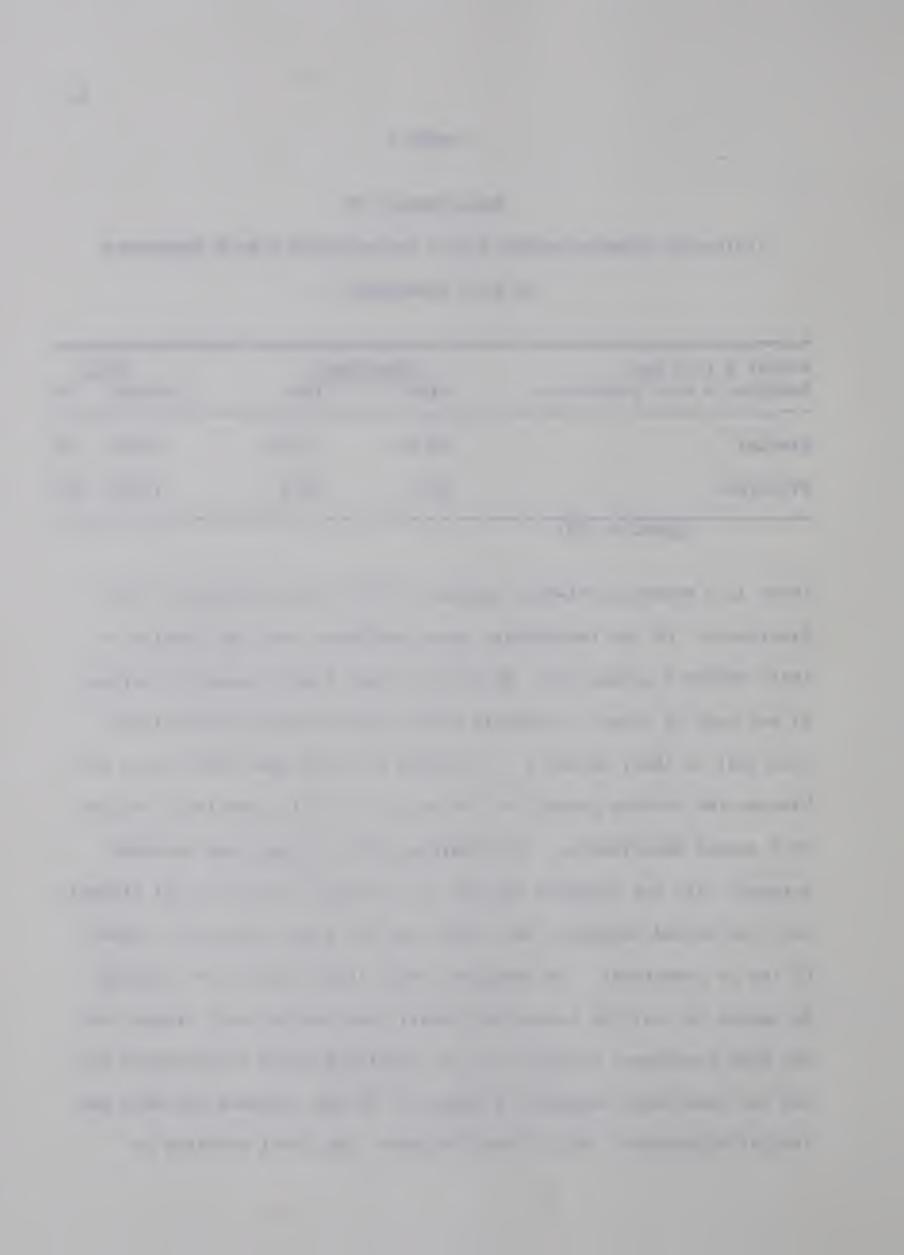


RELATIONSHIP OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN MOTHER'S ROLE AND DAUGHTER'S ROLE PREFERENCE TO ROLE COMMITMENT

TABLE 7

Commi	tment	Tot	<u>a1</u>
High	Low	Percent	N
88.6%	11.3%	(100)	159
81.0	18.9	(100)	227
	High 88.6%	88.6% 11.3%	High Low Percent 88.6% 11.3% (100)

there is a moderate relation (gamma = .29) in the direction of the hypothesis. Of the respondents whose preferred role was similar to their mother's actual role, 89 per cent were highly committed versus 81 per cent of those respondents whose preferred role was different from that of their mother's. It should be noted that there was a problem on the cutting points for the measure of role commitment because of a skewed distribution. By combining very strongly and somewhat strongly into one category and not too strongly and not at all strongly into the second category, the result was 333 highly committed versus 61 low on commitment. The measure, thus, leaves much to be desired. By making the cutting points differently and putting very strong into the high commitment category and the remaining three alternatives into the low commitment category, a gamma of .20 was obtained for this particular hypothesis. As is often the case, the final decision on

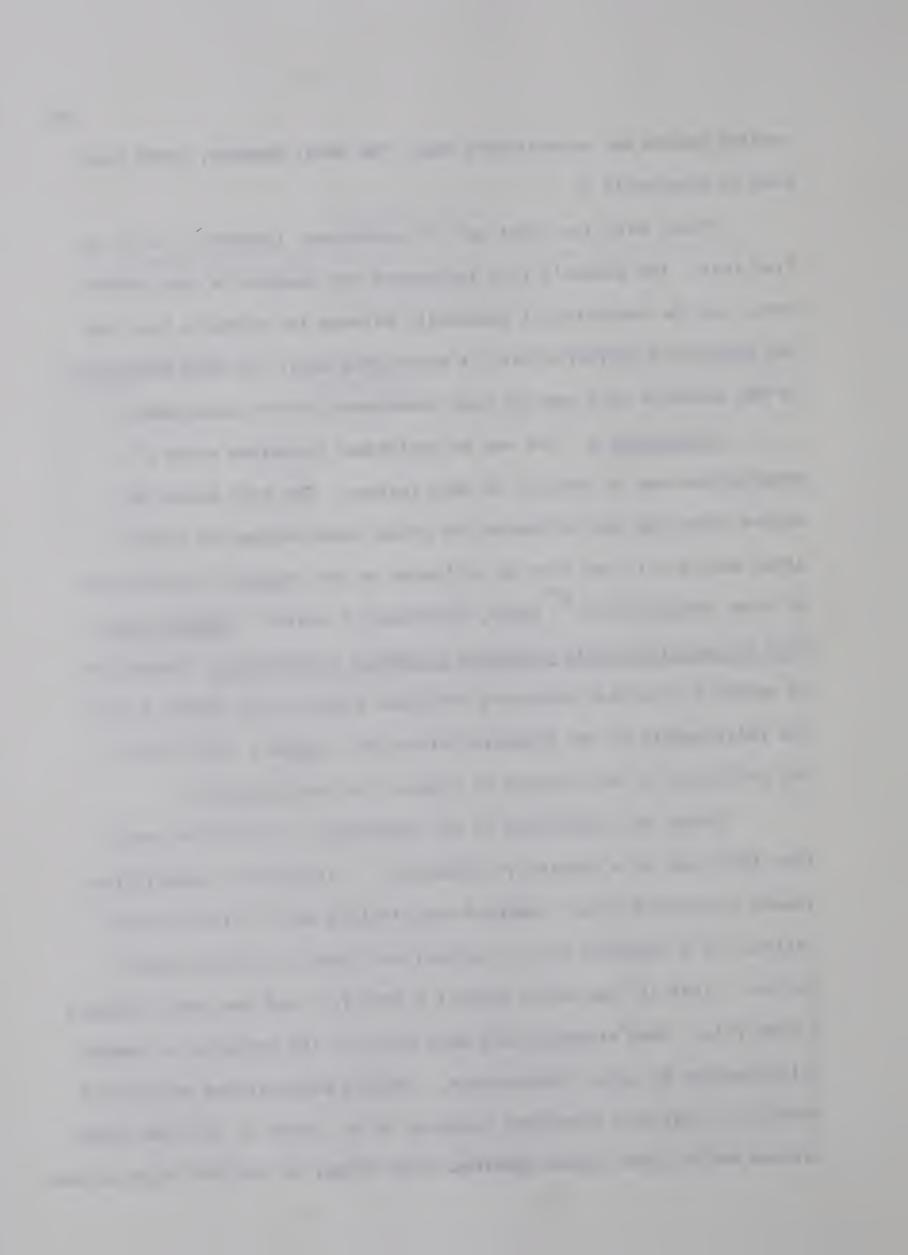


cutting points was an arbitrary one. The data, however, lends support to hypothesis 3.

Thus, with the first set of hypotheses, (numbers 1 to 3) we find that: the mother's role influences her daughter's role preference, and the condition of similarity between the mother's role and the daughter's preferred role is associated with; (1) high evaluation of the mother's role and (2) high commitment to role preference.

Hypothesis 4. The way an individual perceives other s'expectations may be subject to many factors. The role which the mother plays may not influence the actual expectations of others a great deal but it may have an influence on the daughter's perception of those expectations. Hence, hypothesis 4 states: Mother's role will be associated with perceived reference expectations. Comparison of mother's role with perceived reference expectations showed a very low relationship in the predicted direction, (gamma = .09) which is not sufficient to be accepted as support for the hypothesis.

Though the hypothesis is not supported, it should be noted that there may be a problem in definition relating to expectations toward a combined role. Combined expectations may be either expectations for a combined role or inconsistent and conflicting expectations - that is some which support a work role and some which support a home role. When attempts were made early in the analysis to examine relationships by using dichotomies, combined expectations presented a problem in that they sometimes appeared to be closer to the home expectations and at other times appeared to be closer to the work expectations.



This is illustrated by Table 8a which omits the combined role

TABLE 8a

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTHER'S ROLE AND

DAUGHTER'S REFERENCE EXPECTATIONS

	Perceived Referer	nce Expectations	To	tal
Mother's Role	Home	Work	Percen	t N
Home	40.0%	60.0%	(100)	115
Work	27.0	73.0	(100)	48

(gamma = .28)

and combined expectations and compares the relationship between mother's role and daughter's perceived reference expectations. Here there is a gamma of .28 in support of hypothesis four.

As discussed previously (see Chapter 2) an alternative measure of reference expectations was developed using the perceived expectations of the three reference relationships most frequently ranked as important, i.e., mother, father and closest male friend. These three important reference relationships were treated as being of importance by virtue of their position to the respondent rather than by determining the specific case of each respondent and his own three most important reference relationships. Table 8b shows the relationship between the important expectations and the reference expectations. There is a high relation (gamma = .83) between the two variables,

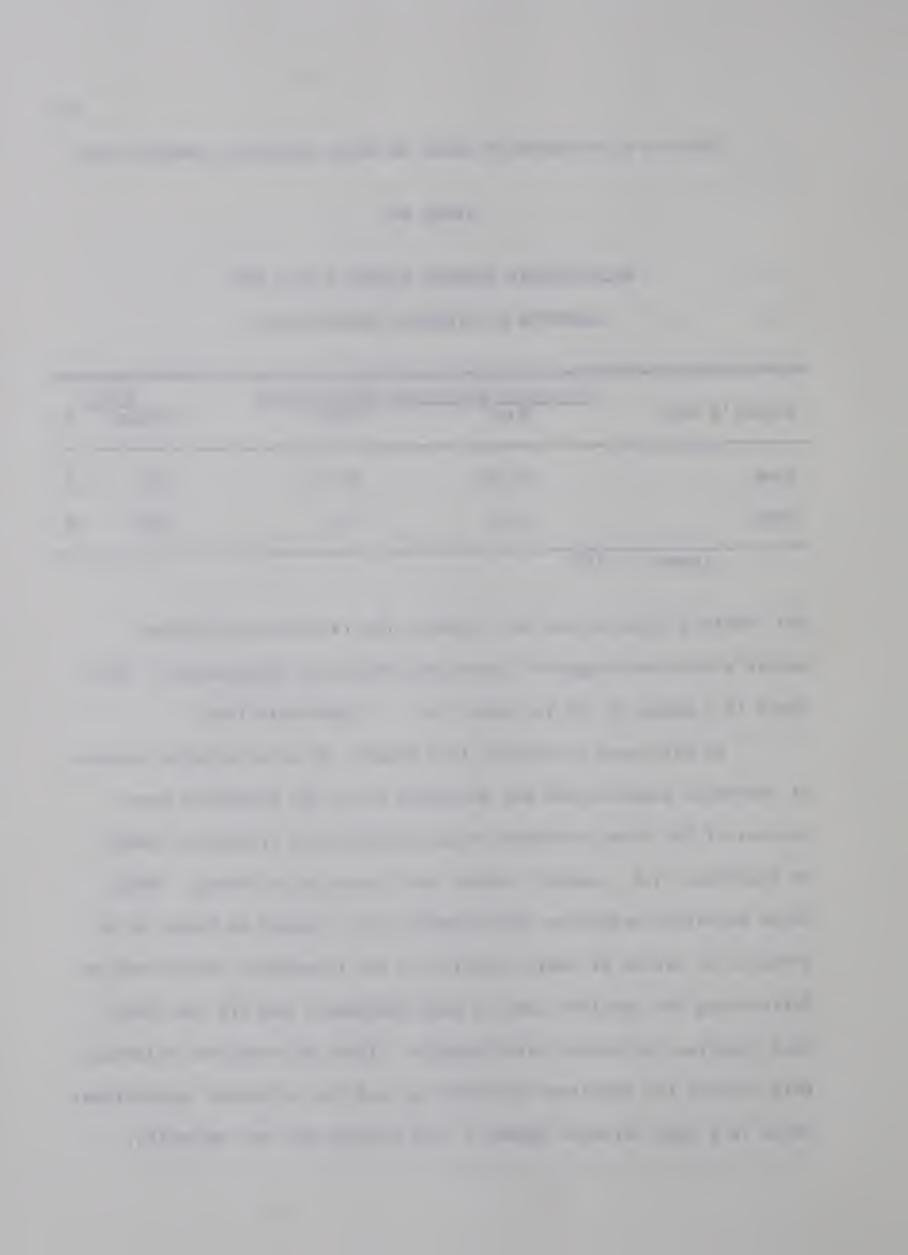


TABLE 8b

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IMPORTANT EXPECTATIONS AND

REFERENCE EXPECTATIONS

Important Reference Expectations	Refer Home	Reference Expectations Home Combined Work		<u>Total</u> Percent N	
Home	47.7%	48.6%	3.6%	(100) 111	
Combined	9.0	69.0	21.9	(100) 155	
Work	0.0	34.8	65.2	(100) 112	

(gamma = .83)

however, this would be expected since they are not totally independent. The high relationship does suggest however that one measure could be used as well as the other. Thus the alternative measure of important expectations has also been used where it is appropriate as a check on the hypotheses.

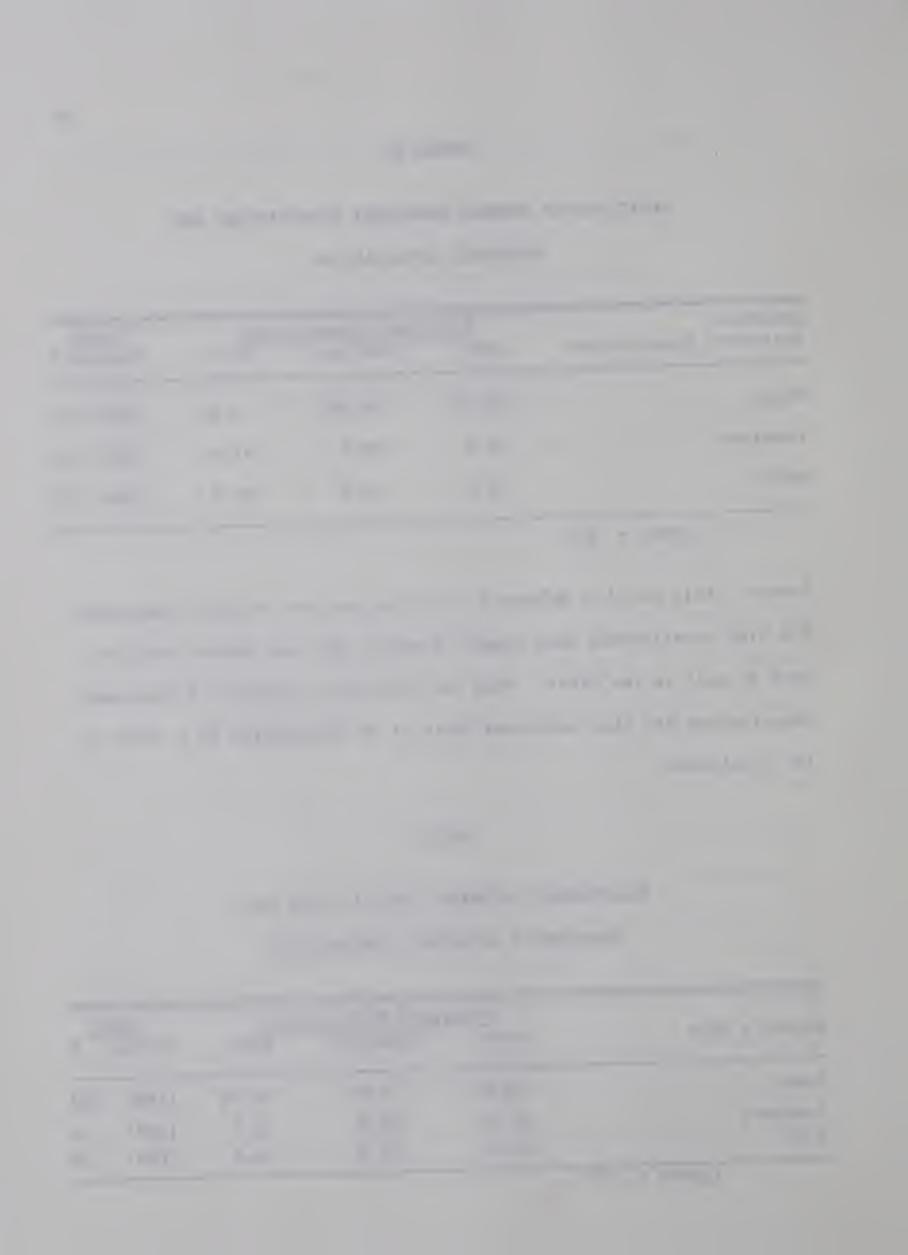
TABLE 9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTHER'S ROLE AND

DAUGHTER'S IMPORTANT EXPECTATIONS

Mother's Role	Important Expectations Home Combined Work		Total Percent N		
Home	35.6%	36.9%	27.5%	(100)	233
Combined	27.5	60.0	12.5	(100)	40
Work	17.3	41.8	40.9	(100)	110

(gamma = .25)



With respect to hypothesis 4, Table 9 showing a comparison of mother's role with important expectations indicates a high relationship (gamma = .25). Hence, while mother's role was not related to reference expectations, comparison of the relationship between mother's role and <u>important</u> reference expectations did support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 5. A situation where the daughter perceives that others expect her to follow a role which is the same as her mother's role would likely influence her evaluation of her mother's role.

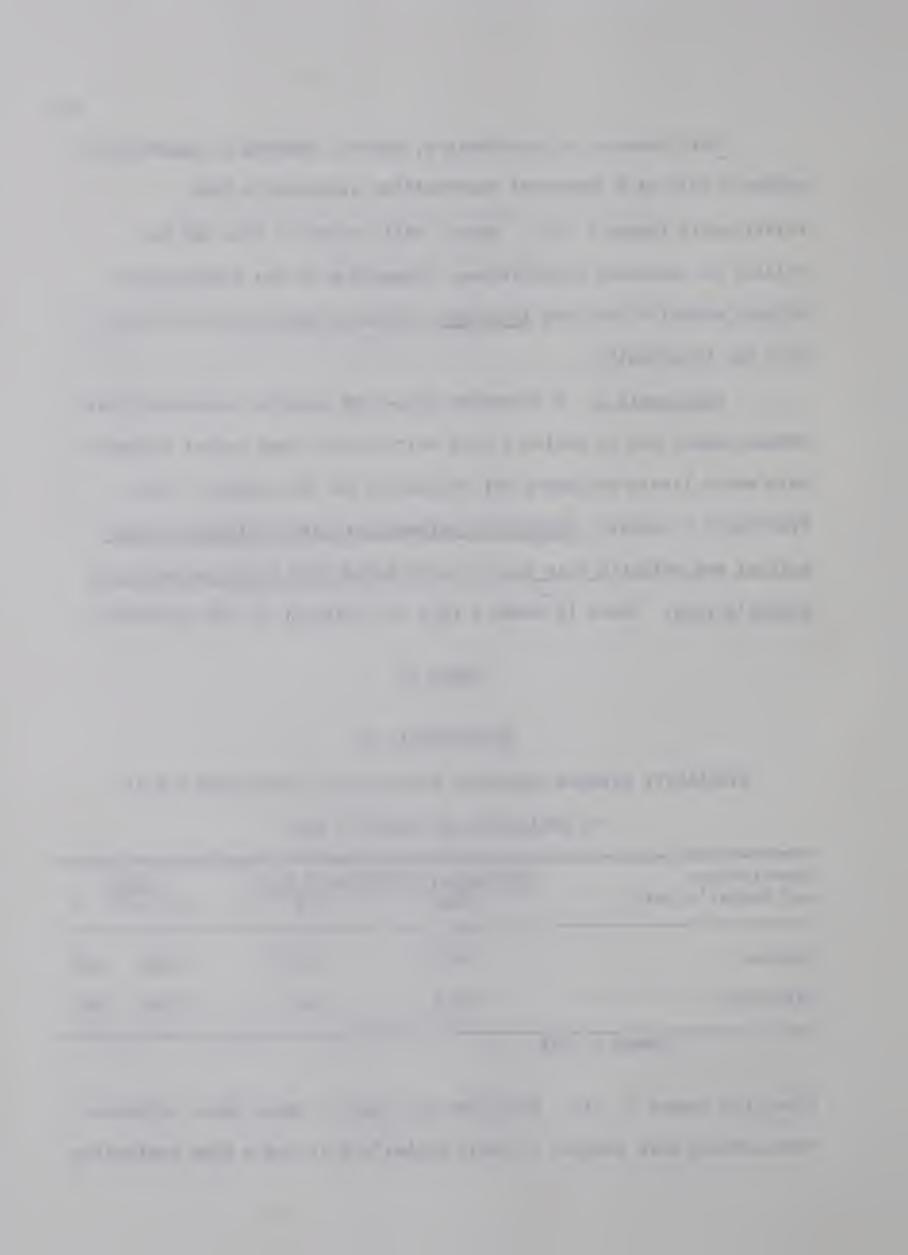
Hypothesis 5 states: Similarity between perceived reference expectations and mother's role will be associated with high evaluation of mother's role. Table 10 shows a very low relation in the predicted

RELATIONSHIP OF
SIMILARITY BETWEEN REFERENCE EXPECTATIONS AND MOTHER'S ROLE
TO EVALUATION OF MOTHER'S ROLE

TABLE 10

<u>1</u>
N
108
267
(100)

direction (gamma = .11). Fifty-one per cent of those whose reference expectations were similar to their mother's role had a high evaluation



of their mother's role in contrast to the category whose reference expectations were different from their mother's role where 45 per cent had a high evaluation.

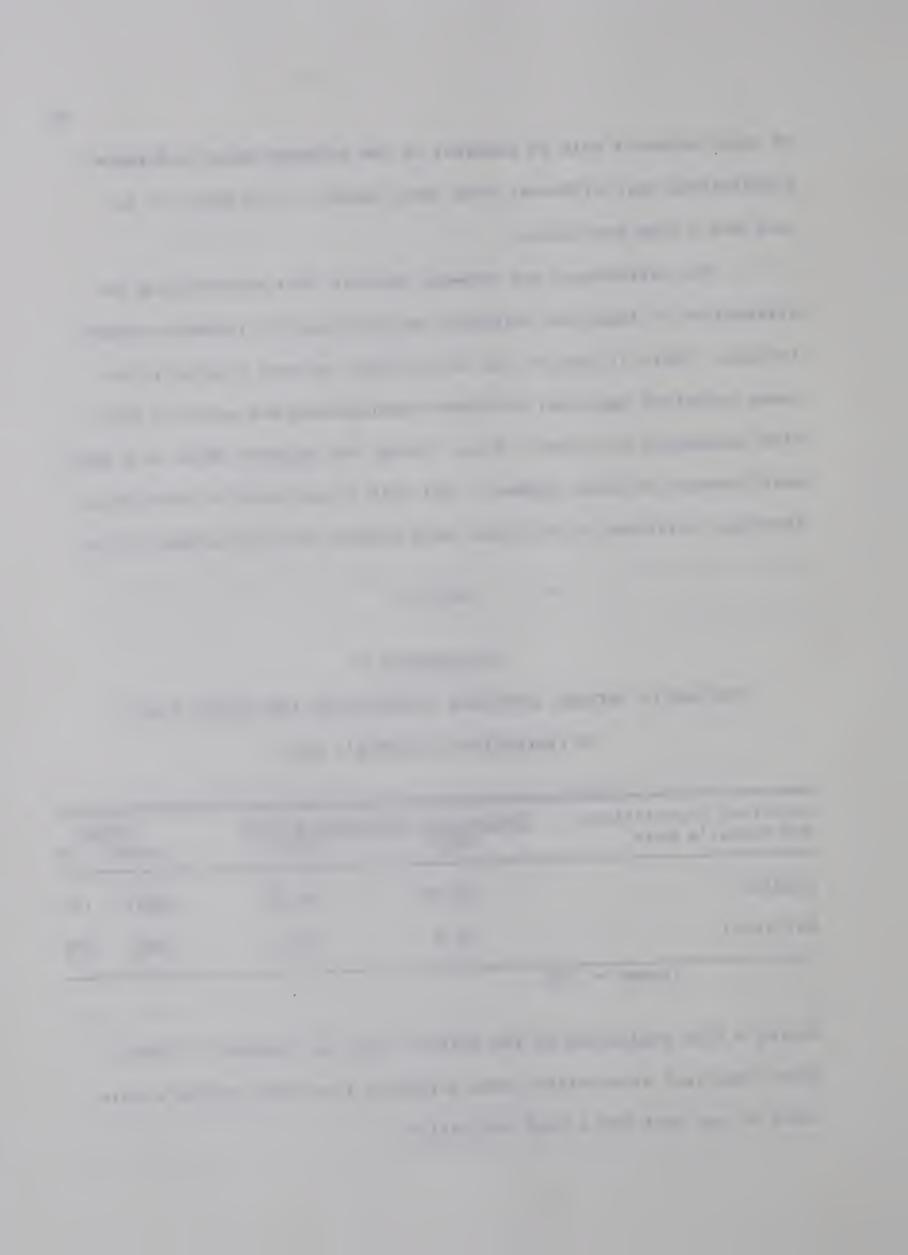
The differences are somewhat greater when substituting the alternative of important reference expectations for reference expectations. Table 11 depicts the relationship between similarity between perceived important reference expectations and mother's role with evaluation of mother's role. Using this measure there is a somewhat stronger relation (gamma = .29) with 55 per cent of those whose important reference expectations were similar to their mother's role

RELATIONSHIP OF
SIMILARITY BETWEEN IMPORTANT EXPECTATIONS AND MOTHER'S ROLE
TO EVALUATION OF MOTHER'S ROLE

TABLE 11

Important Expectations and Mother's Role	Evaluation of Mo High	other's Role Low	<u>To</u> Percen	tal t N
Similar	55.2%	44.8%	(100)	152
Different	40.6	59.3	(100)	229
(gamma = .29	9)			

having a high evaluation of the mother's role in contrast to those whose important expectations were different from their mother's role where 41 per cent had a high evaluation.



In hypothesis 5, as in hypothesis 4, the data do not support the hypothesis when reference expectations are considered. A gamma of .11 while in line with the predicted direction, does not reach the magnitude of relationship which was set for acceptance of a hypothesis in this study. (This was set at .20). Similarity between reference expectations and mother's role is not associated with high evaluation of mother's role. However, similarity between important expectations (those from mother, father, and closest male friend) and mother's role is associated with high evaluation of mother's role.

Hypothesis 6. Hypothesis 6 states: Similarity between

perceived reference expectations and mother's role will be associated

with high role commitment. This hypothesis was based on the assumption that perceiving reference expectations to be the same as the role the mother performs would strengthen the pressures toward preference

RELATIONSHIP OF

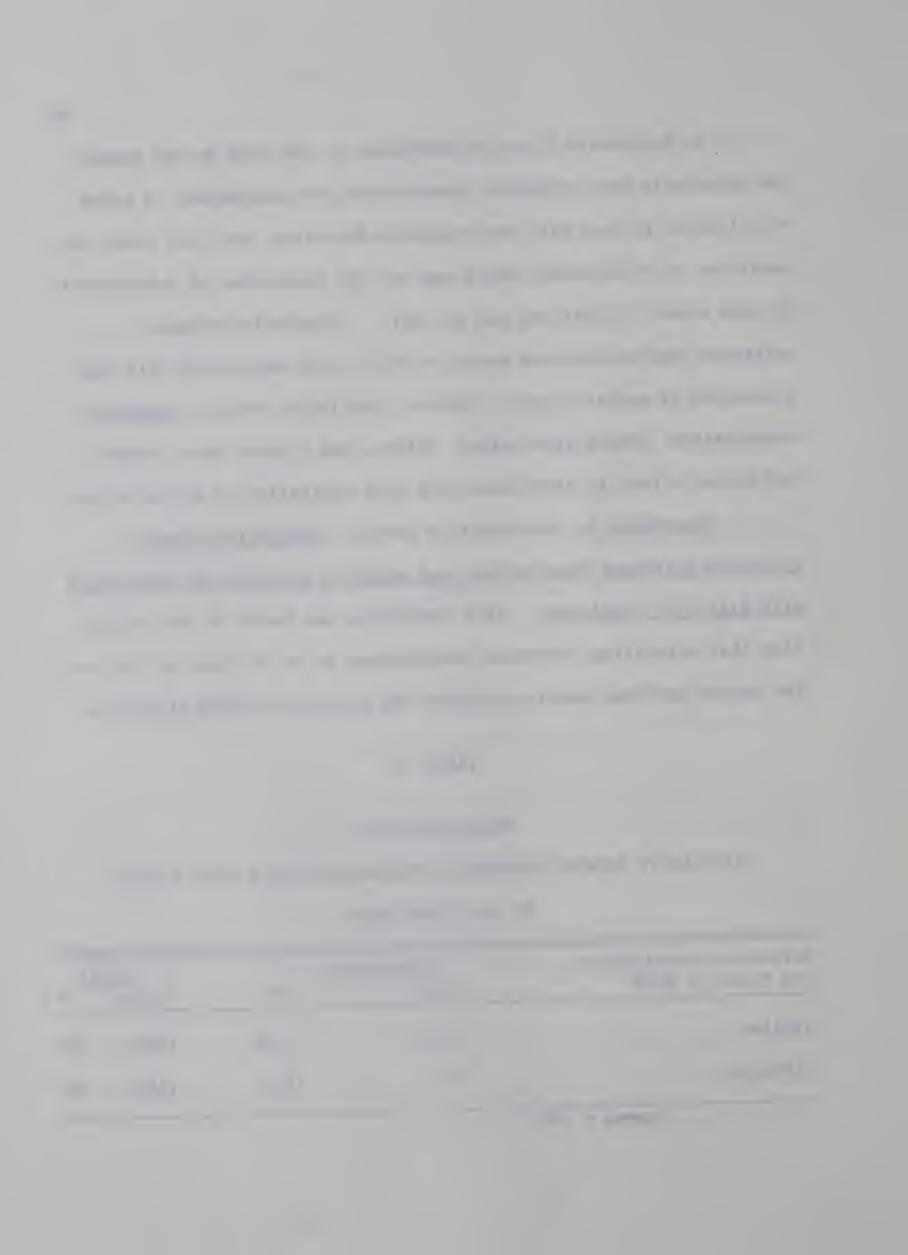
SIMILARITY BETWEEN REFERENCE EXPECTATIONS AND MOTHER'S ROLE

TO ROLE COMMITMENT

TABLE 12

Reference Expectations and Mother's Role	<u>Commitment</u> High	Low	<u>Tot</u> Percent	
Similar	87.6%	12.4%	(100)	105
Different	81.1	18.9	(100)	265

(gamma = .24)

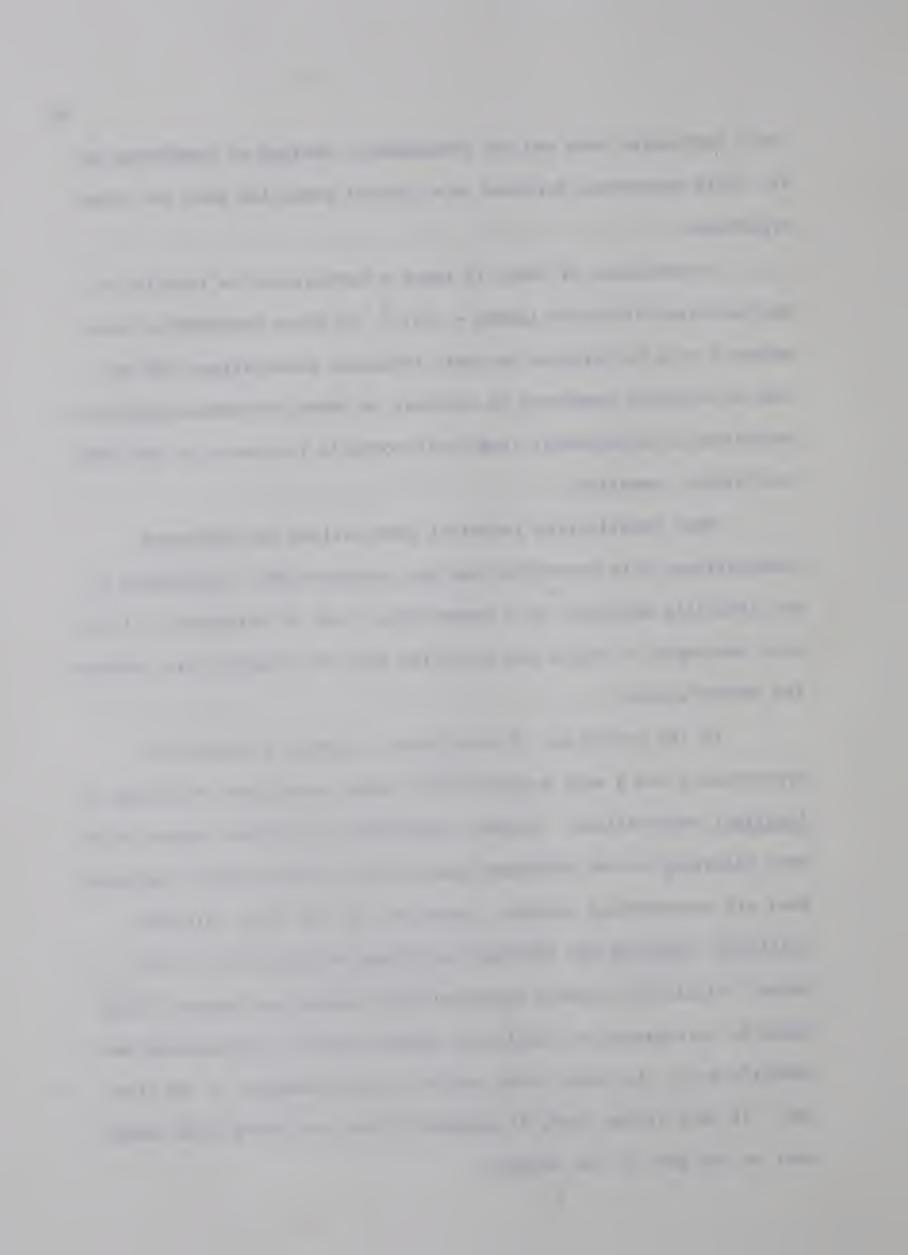


for a particular role and the respondent's feeling of commitment to it. This hypothesis followed as a logical deduction from the other hypotheses.

Examination of Table 12 shows a moderately low relation in the predicted direction (gamma = .24). Of those respondents whose mother's role was similar to their reference expectations, 88 per cent were highly committed in contrast to those respondents whose expectations were different from their mother's role where 81 per cent were highly committed.

When substituting important expectations for reference expectations, this hypothesis was not substantiated. Hypothesis 6 was logically derived. As a common-sense type of statement it is not very meaningful - unless one specifies that the daughter also chooses the mother's role.

Of the second set of hypotheses (numbers 4 through 6), hypotheses 4 and 5 were supported only under conditions referring to important expectations. However, hypothesis 6 received support only when referring to the reference expectations from the total ten somewhat all encompassing sources. Since one of the three reference relations composing the important reference relationships is the mother, similarity between important expectations and mother's role might be interpreted as similarity between mother's expectation and mother's role. In other words, mother expects daughter to be like her. If this is the case, it apparently does not favor high commitment on the part of the daughter.



Hypothesis 7. An individual's perception that others expect certain behavior from him often acts to influence his decision.

Hypothesis 7 states: perceived reference expectations will be associated with role preference. As can be seen in Table 13, a moderately high relationship (gamma = .40) was found between perceived reference expectations and role preference. Of those respondents perceiving expectations toward a work role, 53 per cent chose a work role in contrast to those perceiving expectations toward a homemaker role of whom only 16 per cent chose a work role.

TABLE 13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REFERENCE EXPECTATIONS

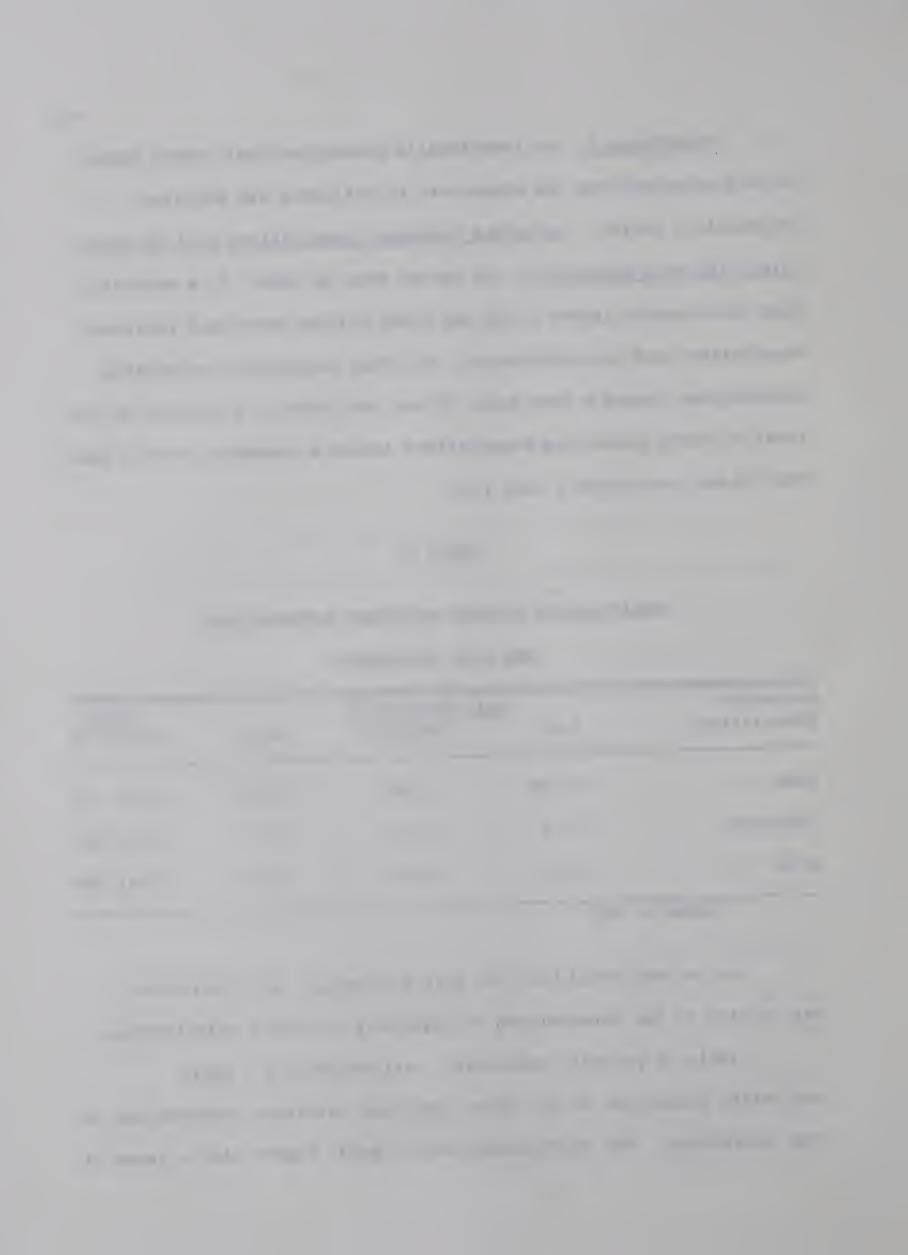
AND ROLE PREFERENCE

Reference Expectations	Home	ole Preference Combined	Work	<u>Total</u> Percent N
Home	47.8%	35.8%	16.4%	(100) 67
Combined	32.3	44.4	23.3	(100) 189
Work	20.4	26.9	52.8	(100) 108

(gamma = .40)

As an additional test for this hypothesis, role preference was related to the expectations of important reference relationships.

Table 14 presents data which test hypothesis 7 again and relate perception of the three important reference expectations to role preference. The relationship was slightly higher with a gamma of



.46. The imposed reference relationships were of varying degrees of importance to the respondents while the three important reference relationships were the ones most frequently ranked as important.

Though the two measures are not independent, it might be expected that the important reference relationships would have a much stronger influence on role preference than the other measure. It would have been interesting to compare the three important reference relationships with the seven relationships of less import to see to what extent perceived expectations from one source color the perceived expectations from the other source.

Using both reference expectations and important reference expectations, hypothesis 7 was supported.

TABLE 14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN

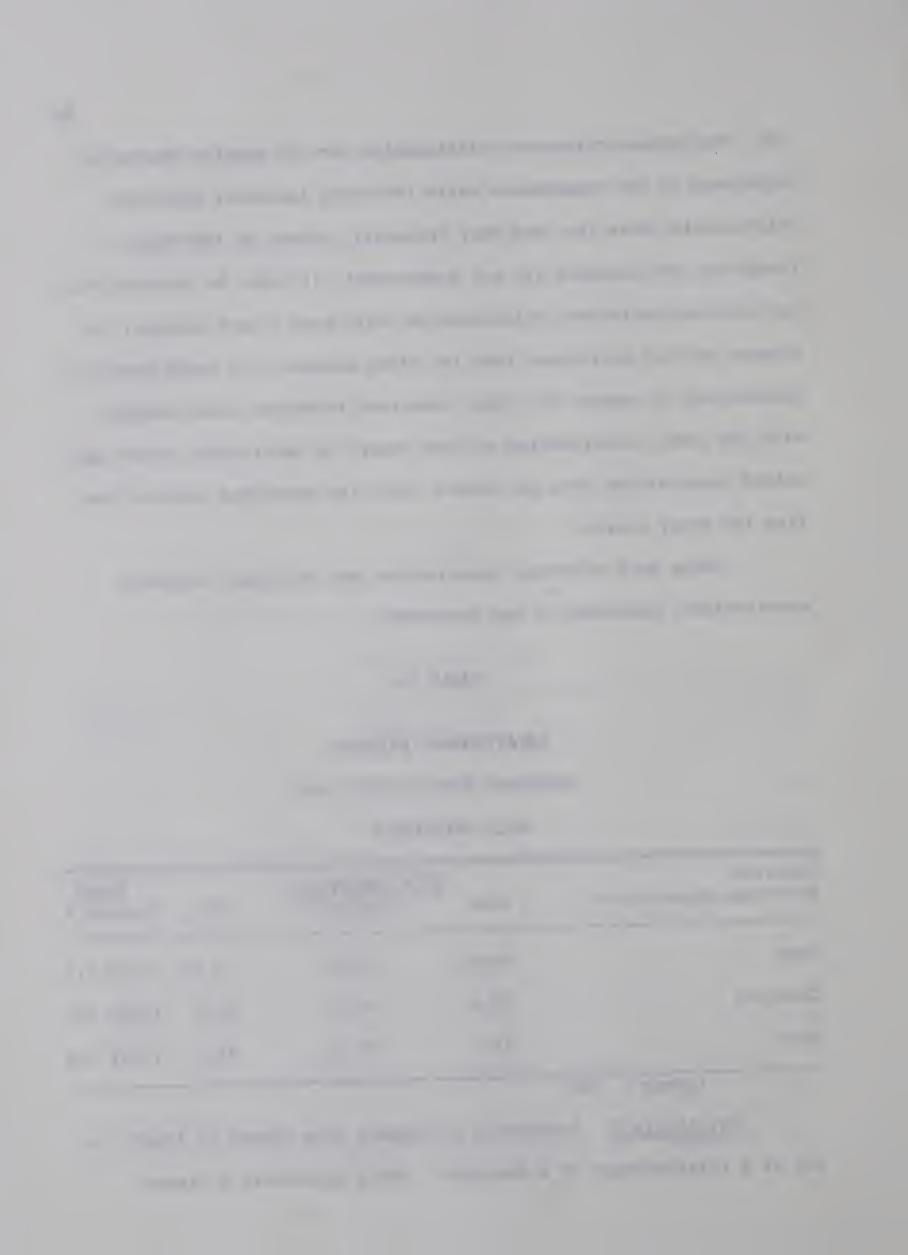
IMPORTANT EXPECTATIONS AND

ROLE PREFERENCE

Important Reference Expectations			Work	Total Percent N	
Home	46.0%	39.8%	14.2%	(100) 113	
Combined	30.6	43.5	25.9	(100) 147	
Work	16.4	27.3	56.4	(100) 110	

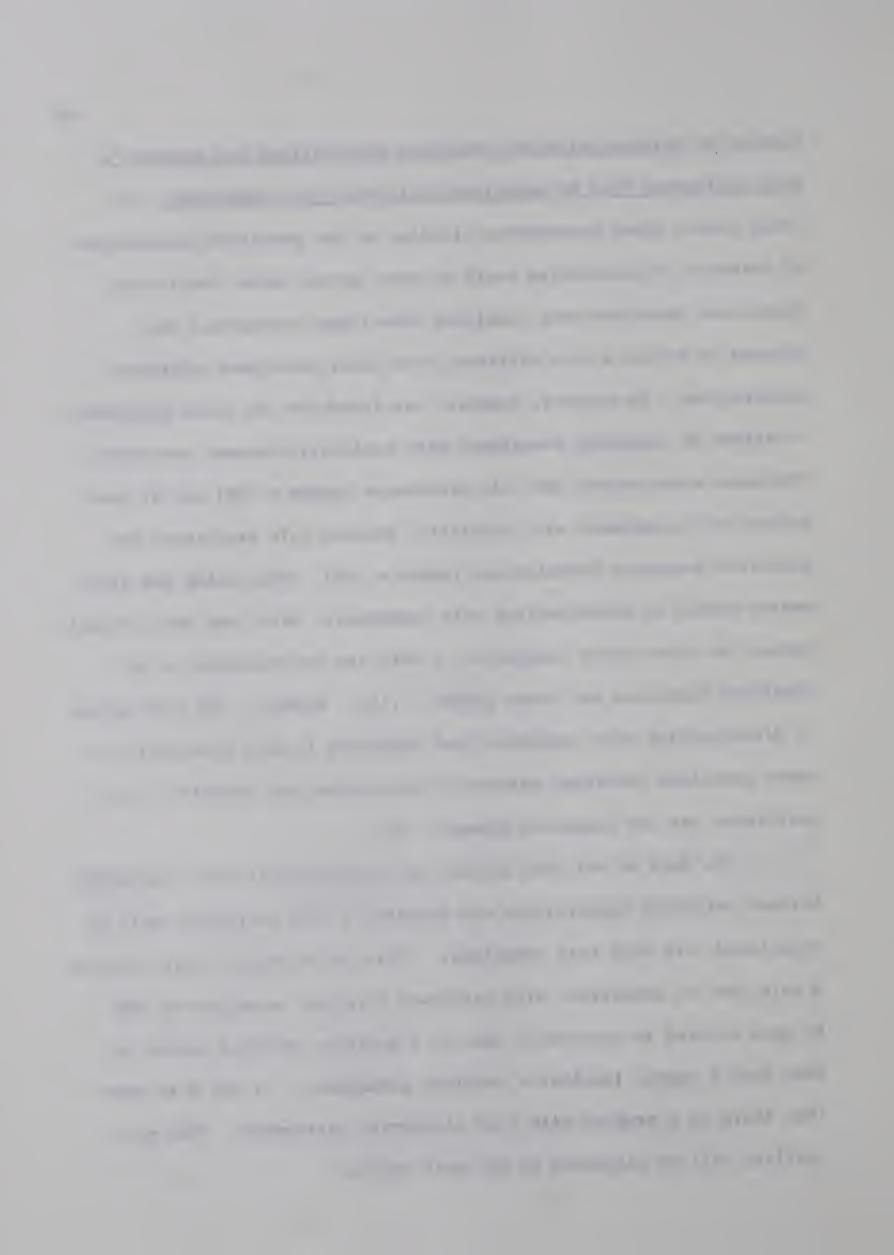
(gamma = .46)

Hypothesis 8. Perception of support from others is likely to act as a reinforcement of a decision. Hence hypothesis 8 stated:



Similarity between perceived reference expectations and daughter's role preference will be associated with high role commitment. In other words, those respondents yielding to the perceived expectations of reference relationships would be more certain about their role choice and therefore more committed than those respondents who elected to follow a role different from their perceived reference expectations. No support, however, was found for the above hypothesis - neither by comparing commitment with similarity between perceived reference expectations and role preference (gamma = .06) nor by comparing role commitment with similarity between role preference and perceived important expectations (gamma = .03). When using the alternative method of dichotomizing role commitment, which was very strongly versus the other three categories, a very low relationship in the predicted direction was found (gamma = .14). However, the same method of dichotomizing role commitment and comparing it with similarity between perceived important reference expectations and daughter's role preference was not supported (gamma = .07).

The data do not lend support to the hypothesis that similarity between reference expectations and daughter's role preference will be associated with high role commitment. This could suggest that choosing a role that is consistent with perceived reference expectations may be more related to conformity than to a decisive personal choice so that such a choice involves a nebulous commitment. It may also mean that there is a problem with this similarity instrument. This possibility will be discussed in the next section.



Hypothesis 9. Hypothesis 9 stated: Similarity between daughter's perceived reference expectations and daughter's role preference will be associated with high evaluation of mother's role. The data did not support this hypothesis (gamma = .02) nor was the hypothesis supported when important reference expectations were substituted for reference expectations (gamma = .05). This hypothesis was logically derived from the others and illustrates the difficulties of trying to make logical deductions from initial propositions. In the case of the above, similarity between daughter's perceived reference expectations and daughter's role preference may be related to high evaluation of mother's role - if another factor is also considered. The hypothesis makes an implicit assumption that the reference expectations and role preference are not only similar to each other but are also similar to the mother's role. To test such a hypothesis would involve comparing similarity between daughter's reference expectations, daughter's role preference, and mother's role to evaluation of mother's role.

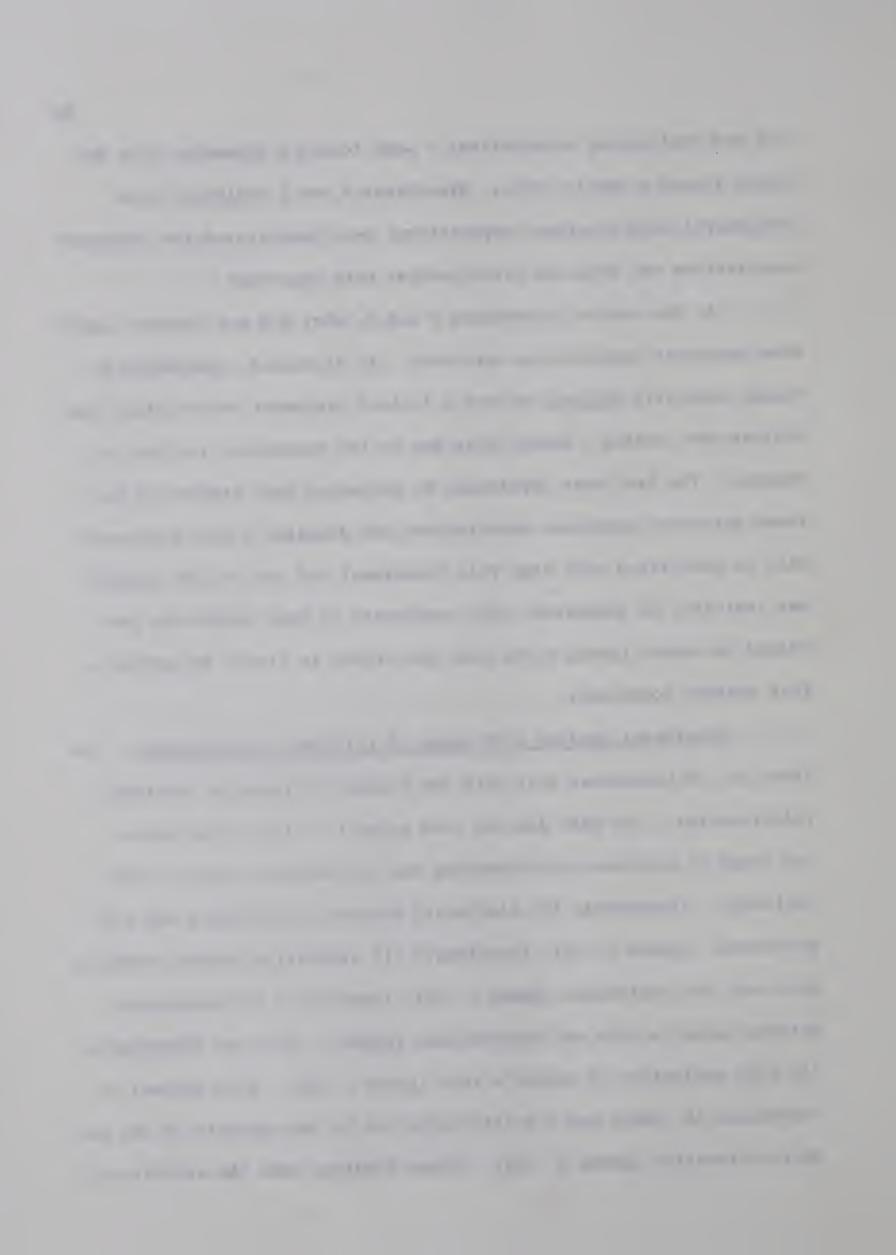
In the third set of hypotheses (number 7 through 9) we find that both reference expectations and important expectations are associated with role preference, but similarity between daughter's reference expectations and her role preference were not found to be associated with either role commitment or high evaluation of mother's role. The reason for this may be the possible problem with this particular similarity variable. As discussed previously, the combined expectations (as measured) involve both expectations toward a combined

role and conflicting expectations - some toward a homemaker role and others toward a working role. Hypotheses 4 and 5 reflected this problem, yet when important expectations were substituted for reference expectations the proposed relationships were supported.

In the case of hypotheses 8 and 9, they did not receive support when important expectations were used. As discussed, hypothesis 9, though logically derived, was not a logical statement unless other conditions were stated. Hence, this may be the reason for its lack of support. The fact that hypothesis 8, proposing that similarity between perceived reference expectations and daughter's role preference will be associated with high role commitment did not receive support may indicate, as suggested, that conformity to what others are perceived to expect (going along with the crowd) is likely to involve a less serious commitment.

Hypotheses dealing with range of reference relationships. The final set of hypotheses deal with the concept of range of reference relationships. The data did not lend support to these hypotheses.

Low range of reference relationships was not related to any of the following: (hypothesis 10) similarity between expectations and role preference (gamma = .10), (hypothesis 11) similarity between mother's role and role preference (gamma = .06), (hypothesis 12) similarity between mother's role and expectations (gamma = .01), nor (hypothesis 13) high evaluation of mother's role (gamma = .02). With respect to hypothesis 14, there was a relationship but in the opposite of the predicted direction (gamma = -.26). These findings make the validity of



the measurement highly questionable.

One of the criticisms made in the discussion of Reeder et al.'s research, which was previously discussed, was that their usage of the term range of reference groups could be equated to social class.⁴

In cross-classifying the measure used in this study with father's occupation, age, and year in university (the types of measures used in the aforementioned study), no relationship was found. It is evident that social class was not being measured with this usage.

Range was defined as the number of reference relationships rated as important to the individual from an imposed list of ten relationships. Perhaps what was being measured was "other-directedness." Some support for this possibility can be found by the fact that high range was related to conventionality (gamma = .34). Conventionality was one of a series of adjective traits arranged on Likert type scales in the questionnaire. These were not used as part of the thesis, however, Table 15 shows that among those respondents who considered themselves

TABLE 15

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN

RANGE OF REFERENCE RELATIONSHIPS

AND CONVENTIONALITY

	Reference Range		Total		
Conventionality	High	Low	Percen		
High	65.3%	34.7%	(100)	228	
Low	48.3	51.7	(100)	116	

(gamma = .34)

highly conventional, 65 per cent had a high range of reference relationships while 48 per cent of those low on conventionality had a high range of reference relationships.

Range of reference relationships was also related to the role scale. The role scale as discussed in Chapter 2, was a means of verifying role preference. The relationship between role scale and role preference was very high with a gamma of .64 (see Appendix "B"), suggesting the validity of the instrument for determining role preference. The relationship between the major variables and role preference was very similar in most cases with the relationship between the same variables and the role scale score. However, while role preference was not related to range, those who were home oriented on the role scale tended to have a high range of reference relationships (gamma = .37).

TABLE 16

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ROLE SCALE AND

RANGE OF REFERENCE RELATIONS

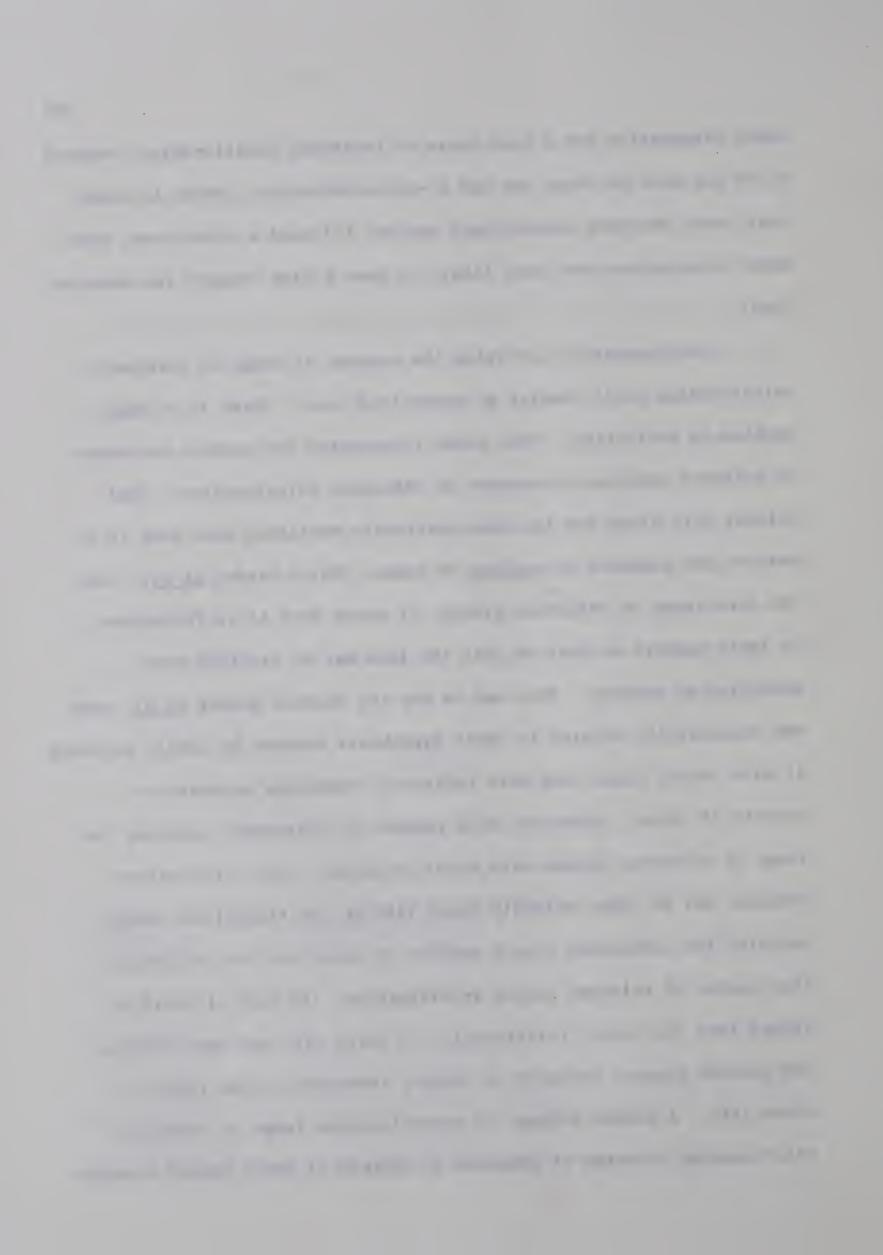
	Reference	Reference Range		<u>Total</u>	
Role Scale	High	Low	Percent	N	
Home oriented	68.9%	31.1%	(100)	119	
Combined	66.4	33.6	(100)	143	
. Work Oriented	47.6	52.4	(100)	145	

(gamma = .37)

As can be seen in Table 16, 69 per cent of those with a home-

maker orientation had a high range of reference relationships compared to 48 per cent of those who had a work orientation. Hence it seems that those who were conventional and who followed a traditional homemaker orientation were most likely to have a high "range" (as measured here).

Unfortunately clarifying the concept of range of reference relationships still remains an unresolved task. There is a large problem in definition. This study interpreted the concept as extent of relevant exposure to numbers of reference relationships. What neither this study nor the ones previously mentioned have done is to measure the exposure to variety of ideas. While Reeder et al. used the term range of reference groups, it seems that it is fallacious to imply numbers as they do; but the idea may be fruitful when specified as variety. This may be why the measure Reeder et al. used was successfully related to their hypothesis because by subtly equating it with social class they were indirectly measuring exposure to variety of ideas. Likewise, with respect to statements equating low range of reference groups with rural isolation. The term implies numbers, per se, when actually rural life in the traditional sense, isolates the individual from a variety of ideas but not necessarily from number of relevant social relationships. In fact it could be argued that the social relationships of rural life are more intense and provide greater exposure to primary interaction than those of urban life. A future attempt to operationalize range of reference relationships in terms of exposure to variety of ideas should consider



the impact not only of people but also of mass media.

The concept of range of reference relationships remains an intriguing possibility. If the problem of measurement is resolved, range of reference relationships could serve as a fruitful explanatory variable.

Summary. Chapter IV deals with the influence of reference relationships in terms of the major hypotheses of this research. In the ranking of the importance of each reference relationship to the respondent, the mother received the highest rank, closely followed by the father and then by the closest male friend. The respondent's perception of the expectations of the ten reference relationships indicated heavy pressure toward the homemaker role. The reference relationship perceived to be strongest in support of some form of work role was that of professors.

The frequency distribution of the total mothers' actual roles was very similar to the total daughters' preferred roles at the level of working when children are pre-school or grade school age. This similarity should not be interpreted as due to generational similarities, however, because the mothers' roles reflect actual performance regardless of preference while the daughters' roles reflect anticipated preferences which may or may not be realized. At the level of having children in high school or university there is a sharp difference between mothers and daughters with a small proportion of mothers having started at this period and one-third of the daughters preferring to

be working at this time.

Mother's role was associated with daughter's role preference (hypothesis 1). Similarity between mother's role and daughter's role preference was associated with high evaluation of mother's role (hypothesis 2) and with high role commitment (hypothesis 3).

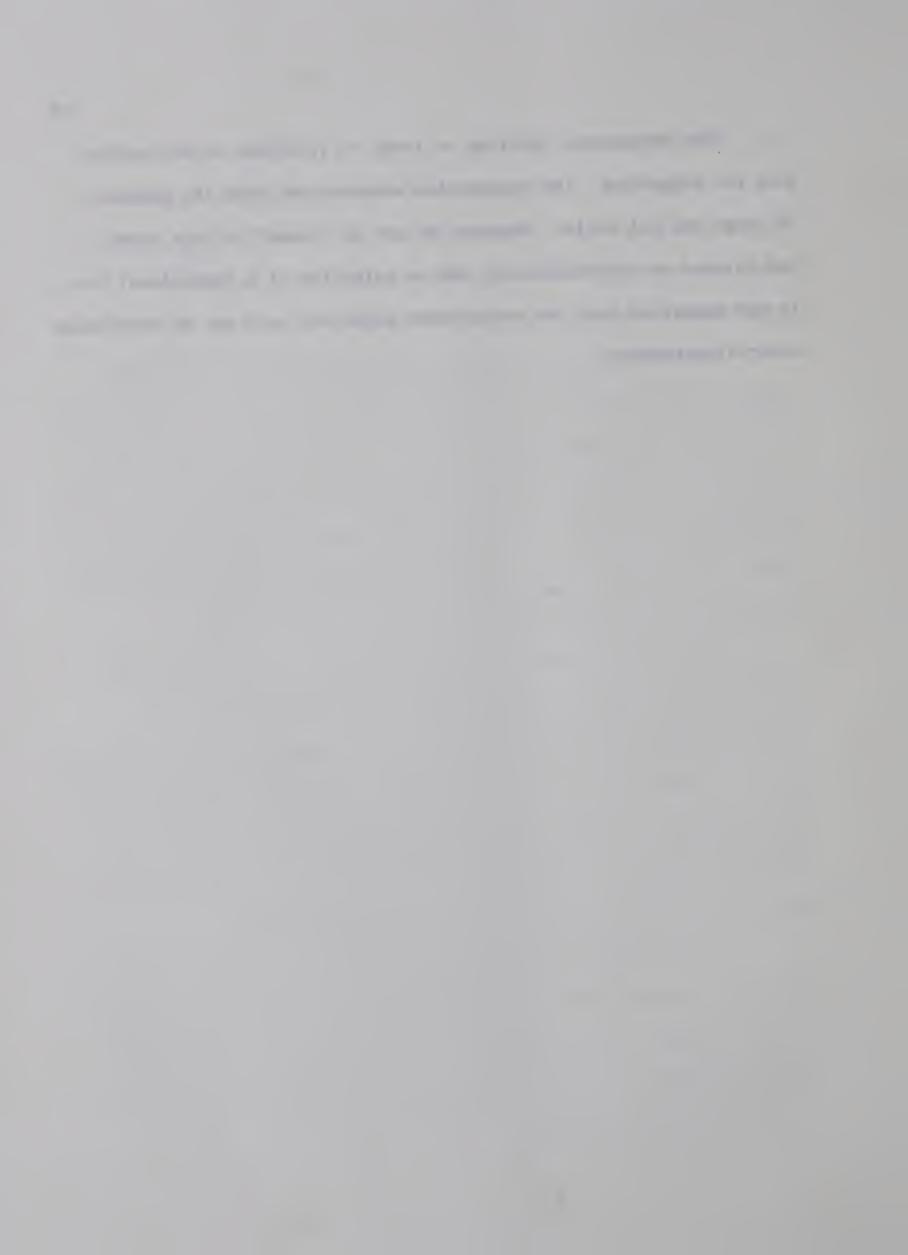
Similarity between mother's role and daughter's perceived reference expectations was associated with role commitment (hypothesis 6). However, the hypotheses that mother's role will be associated with reference expectations and that similarity between mother's role and reference expectations will be associated with high evaluation of mother's role (hypotheses 4 and 5) were supported only when important expectations were substituted for reference expectations.

Perceived reference expectations were associated with role preference (hypothesis 7) as were important expectations. The logically derived hypothesis proposing that similarity between daughter's perceived reference expectations and daughter's role preference would be associated with high evaluation of mother's role (hypothesis 8) received no support. This suggests that it is not always possible to derive hypotheses logically from initial propositions.

The hypothesis proposing that similarity between perceived reference expectations and daughter's role preference will be associated with high role commitment received no support (hypothesis 9). This may suggest the possibility that going along with the crowd involves a nebulous commitment.

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The hypotheses relating to range of reference relationships were not supported. The explanation advanced was that the measure of range was not valid. Because the use of "range" in this study was related to conventionality and to selection of a traditional role, it was suggested that the measurement which was used may be expressing other-directedness.



FOOTNOTES

The ratings given to parents were very similar for both the engaged and the non-engaged. However, there was a differential in importance of closest male friend. Forty per cent of the non-engaged rated closest male friend as very important while the percentage of engaged girls placing closest male friend in that category was 74 per cent.

²The <u>actual</u> expectations of others may also be influenced by mother's role, e.g., a girl whose mother is a medical doctor may also be expected to have a professional career.

When commitment was dichotomozed into very strongly versus the remaining three categories no relationship was found for this hypothesis.

Leo G. Reeder, George A. Donohue and Arturo Biblarz, "Conceptions of Self and Others," <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, 66 (1960), pp. 153-159.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This research attempted to identify a set of interrelated and mutually reinforcing conditions having impact on a young woman's marital role preference. For the purpose of this investigation, a sample of 408 female university students was selected. Most of the respondents completed a questionnaire in class but a few graduate students were contacted personally and another small group completed the questionnaires through the mail.

The data showed that the respondents endorsed the following categories of post-marital role preference about evenly: (1) wanting to be a full-time permanent homemaker (home role); (2) wanting to be a homemaker until children reach high school or university age and then work outside the home (combined role); and (3) wanting to work, at the latest, by the time children are in grade school (work role). These preferences indicated attitudes revealed at a certain point in time prior to actual experience with marriage.

The respondents tended to perceive their reference expectations as strongly in favor of a homemaking role. Of the ten different reference relationships covered in the study, the three most frequently rated as important by the respondents were mother, father and closest male friend. The perceived attitudes of these three important reference relationships and the perceived expectations of the total ten relationships on the questionnaire list were each used alternatively

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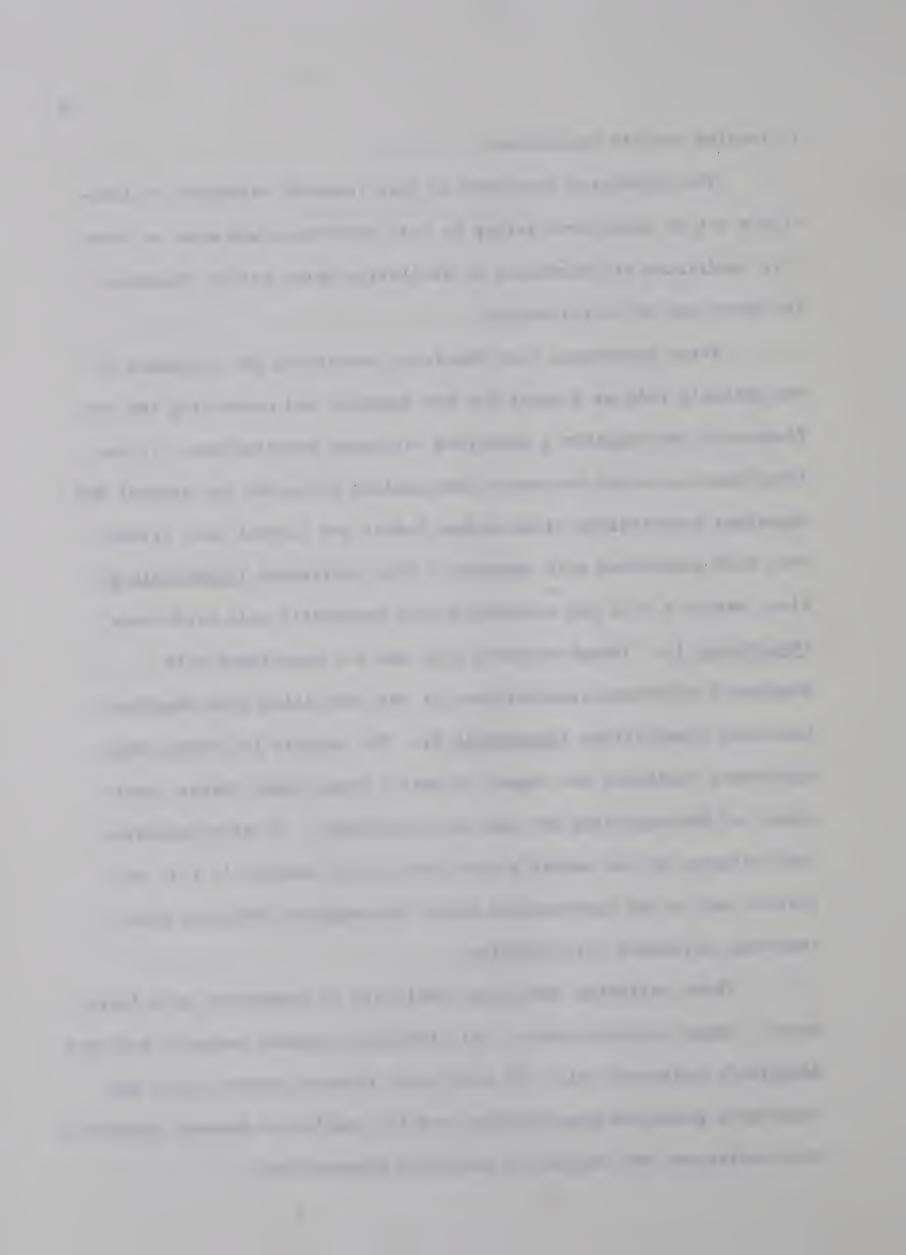
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in testing certain hypotheses.

The hypotheses developed in this research attempted to identify a set of conditions acting on role preference and also to identify conditions of congruence or similarity which act to reinforce the direction of socialization.

Three hypotheses were developed concerning the influence of the mother's role as a model for her daughter and concerning the influence of the daughter's perceived reference expectations. It was found that perceived reference expectations (from the ten groups) and important expectations (from mother, father and closest male friend) were both associated with daughter's role preference (hypothesis 7). Also, mother's role was associated with daughter's role preference (hypothesis 1). Though mother's role was not associated with daughter's important expectations (hypothesis 4). The support for these three hypotheses indicates the impact of what a young woman thinks others expect of her regarding her own role preference. It also indicates the influence of the mother's role both on her daughter's role preference and on the expectations which the daughter perceives from important reference relationships.

Three variables involving similarity or congruence were introduced. These variables were: (a) similarity between mother's role and daughter's preferred role; (b) similarity between mother's role and daughter's perceived expectations; and (c) similarity between daughter's role preference and daughter's perceived expectations.

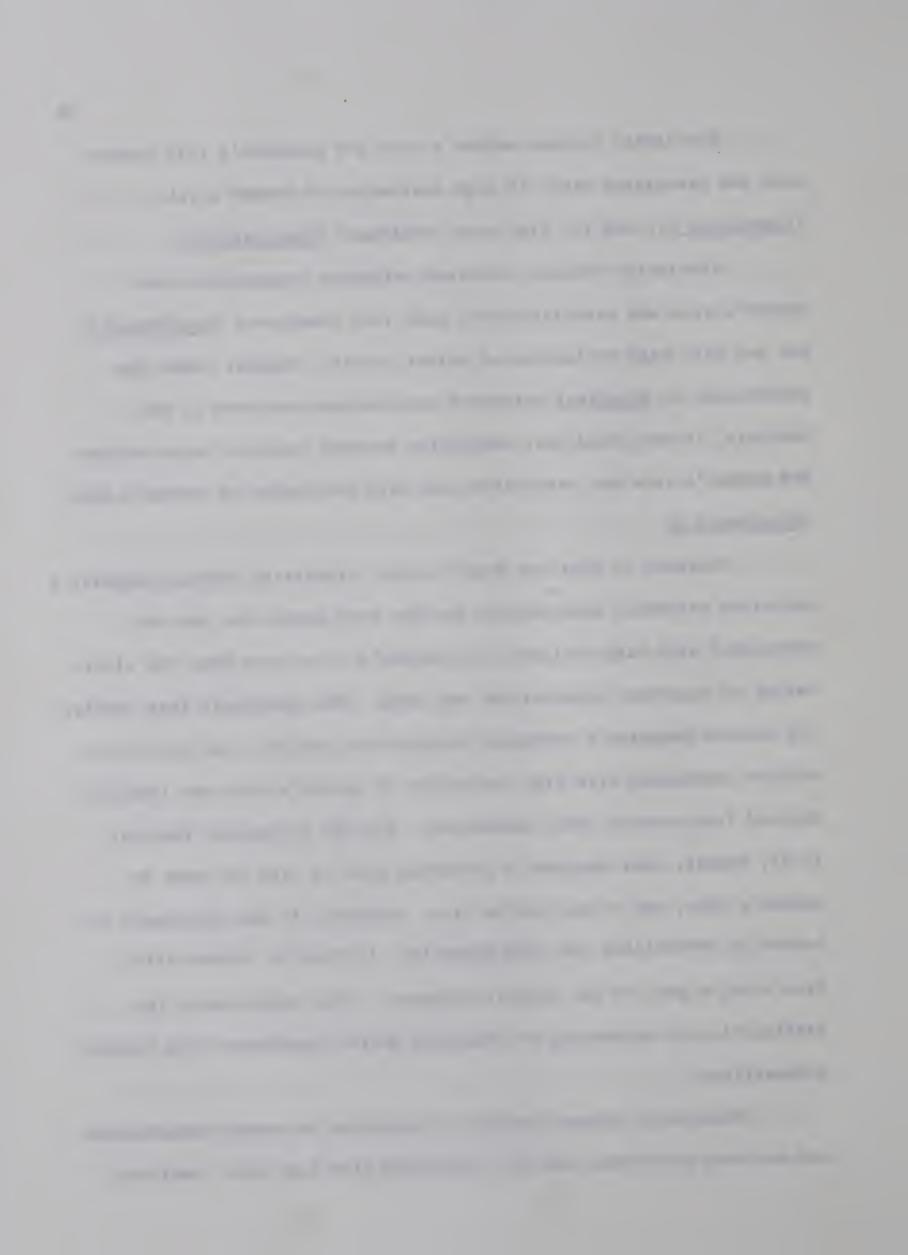


Similarity between mother's role and daughter's role preference was associated with (1) high evaluation of mother's role (hypothesis 2), and (2) high role commitment (hypothesis 3).

Similarity between perceived reference expectations and mother's role was associated with high role commitment (hypothesis 6) but not with high evaluation of mother's role. However, when the alternative of important reference expectations was used in the analysis, it was found that similarity between important expectations and mother's role was associated with high evaluation of mother's role (hypothesis 5).

Contrary to what was hypothesized, similarity between daughter's perceived reference expectations and her role preference was not associated with high evaluation of mother's role, even when the alternative of important expectations was used. The hypothesis that similarity between daughter's reference expectations and her role preference will be associated with high evaluation of mother's role was logically derived from certain other hypotheses. But the assumption implicit in it, namely, that daughter's preferred role is also the same as mother's role, may or may not be true. However, if the hypothesis is tested by controlling for this situation, it would be disqualified from being a part of the logical sequence. This demonstrates the difficulties of attempting to logically derive hypotheses from initial propositions.

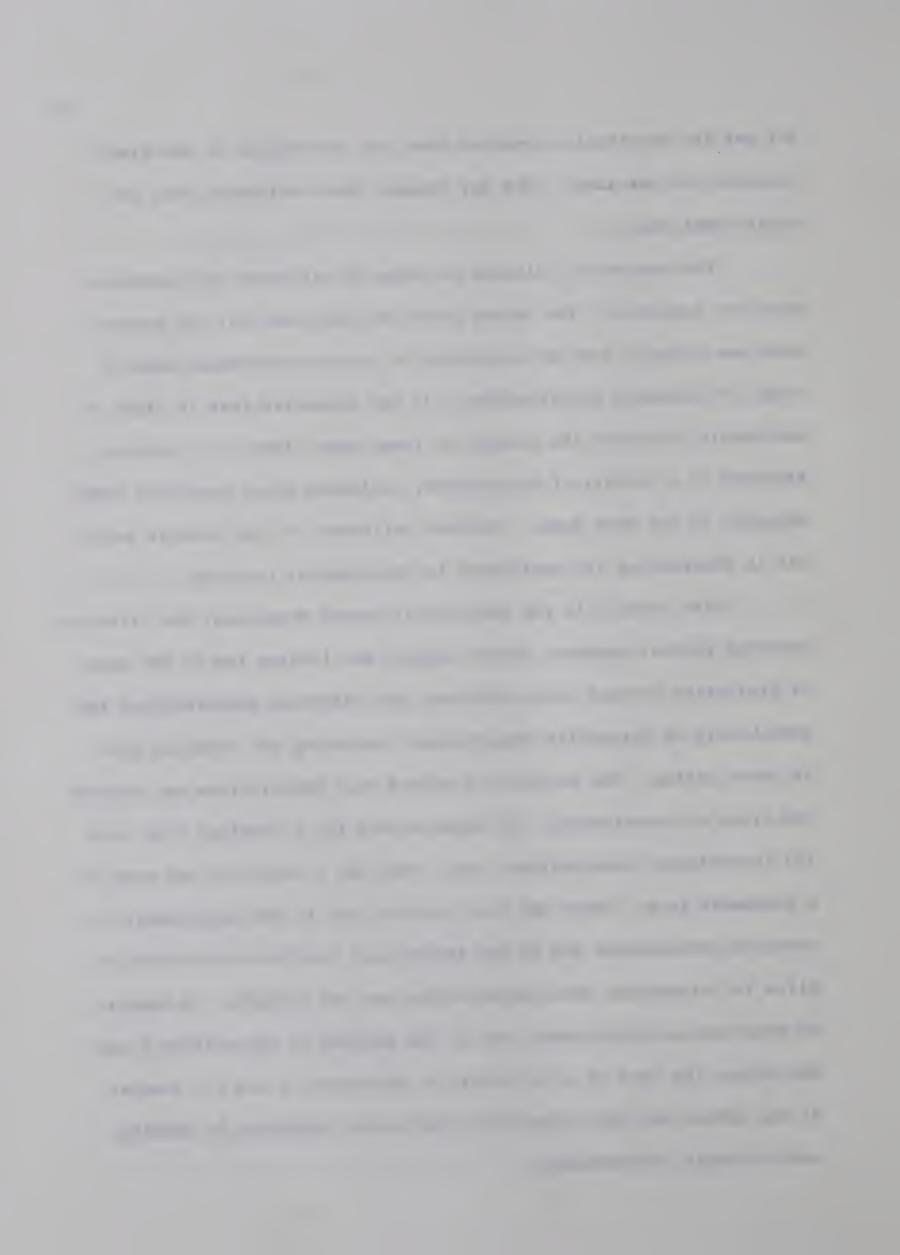
Similarity between daughter's perceived reference expectations and her role preference was not associated with high role commitment.



Nor was the hypothesis supported when the alternative of important expectations was used. This may suggest that conformity does not equal commitment.

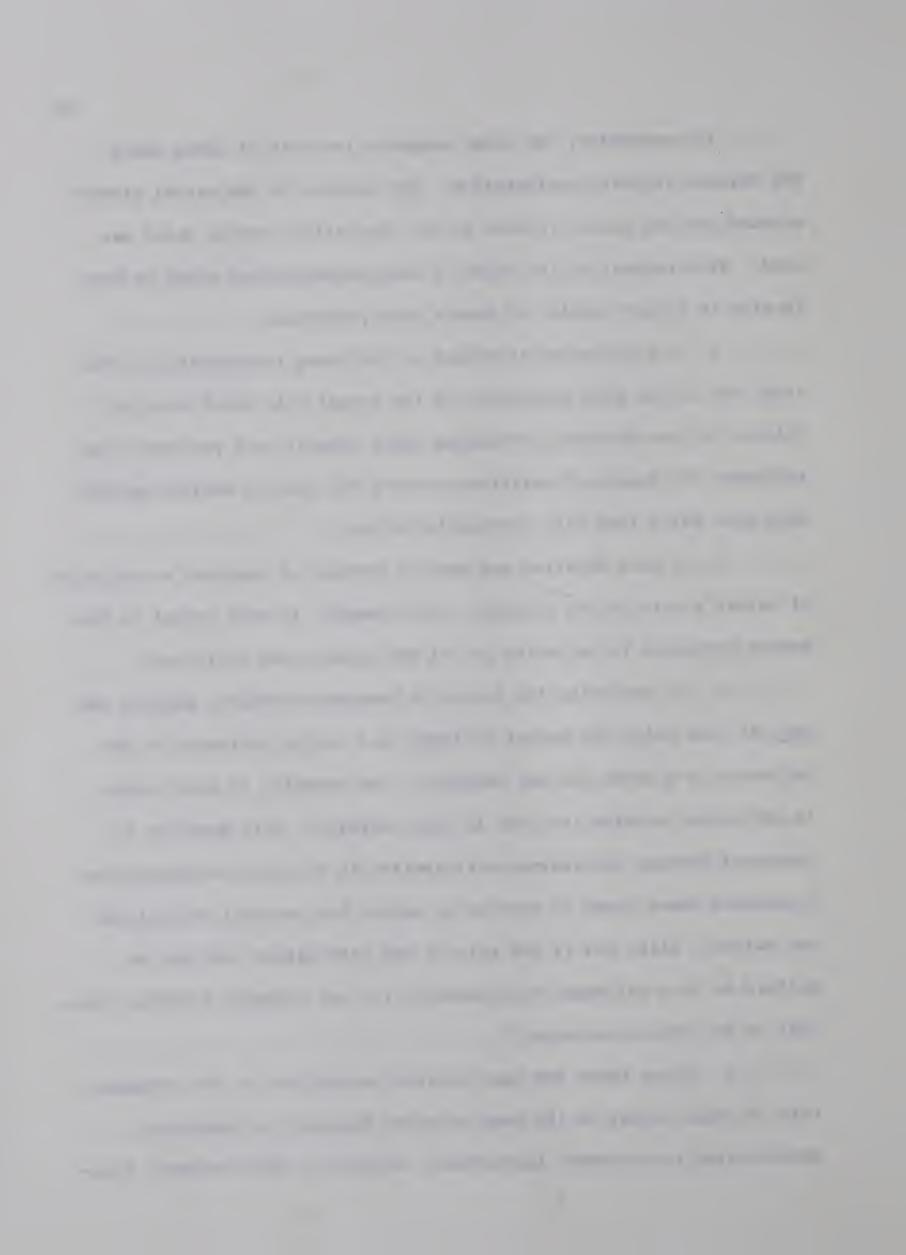
The hypotheses relating to range of reference relationships were not supported. The reason given for this was that the measure used was probably more an indication of other-directedness than of range of reference relationships. It was suggested that it might be worthwhile to define the concept of range more clearly in terms of exposure to a variety of experiences, including those resulting from exposure to the mass media. Further refinement of the concept would aid in determining its usefulness in sociological research.

With respect to the theoretical scheme developed, the structure received partial support. Where support was lacking (as in the case of similarity between role preference and reference expectations) the possibility of dissimilar expectations concerning the combined role is worth noting. The so-called combined role expectations may involve two types of expectations; (1) expectations for a combined role, and (2) inconsistent expectations, e.g., some for a work role and some for a homemaker role. There may be a problem both in the measurement of combined expectations and in the theoretical structure which did not allow for situations where expectations are not definite. A measure of expectations which takes care of the problem of inconsistency may not affect the lack of relationship in hypotheses 8 and 9. However, it may affect the other hypotheses which were supported by showing even stronger relationships.



In conclusion, the study suggests two sets of ideas which may warrant further consideration. One relates to the actual problem studied and the second relates to the theoretical scheme which was used. With respect to the first, a few considerations might be born in mind in future studies of female role preference.

- 1. The professed attitudes of the young respondents in this study may not be good predictors of the actual role which they will follow, but the factors surrounding their present role preference may influence the degree of satisfaction with the type of marital-mother-hood role which they will eventually follow.
- 2. A more detailed and precise measure of daughter's evaluation of mother's role may be fruitful. For example, to what extent is the mother perceived to be making use of her talents and abilities?
- 3. In analyzing the impact of homemaker mothers, perhaps the type of role which the mother followed is a useful indicator of her influence as a model for her daughter. For example, to what extent is she active outside the home in civic affairs? This question is important because increasing participation in voluntary organizations by married women tends to provide an avenue for personal recognition and esteem. Also, how is the role of the farm mother (who may be defined as in a colleague relationship with her husband) different from that of her urban counterpart?
- 4. Since there are many possible variations in the homemaker role, to what extent do the home-oriented daughters of homemaker mothers plan to introduce innovations, related to their mothers' home-



maker role?

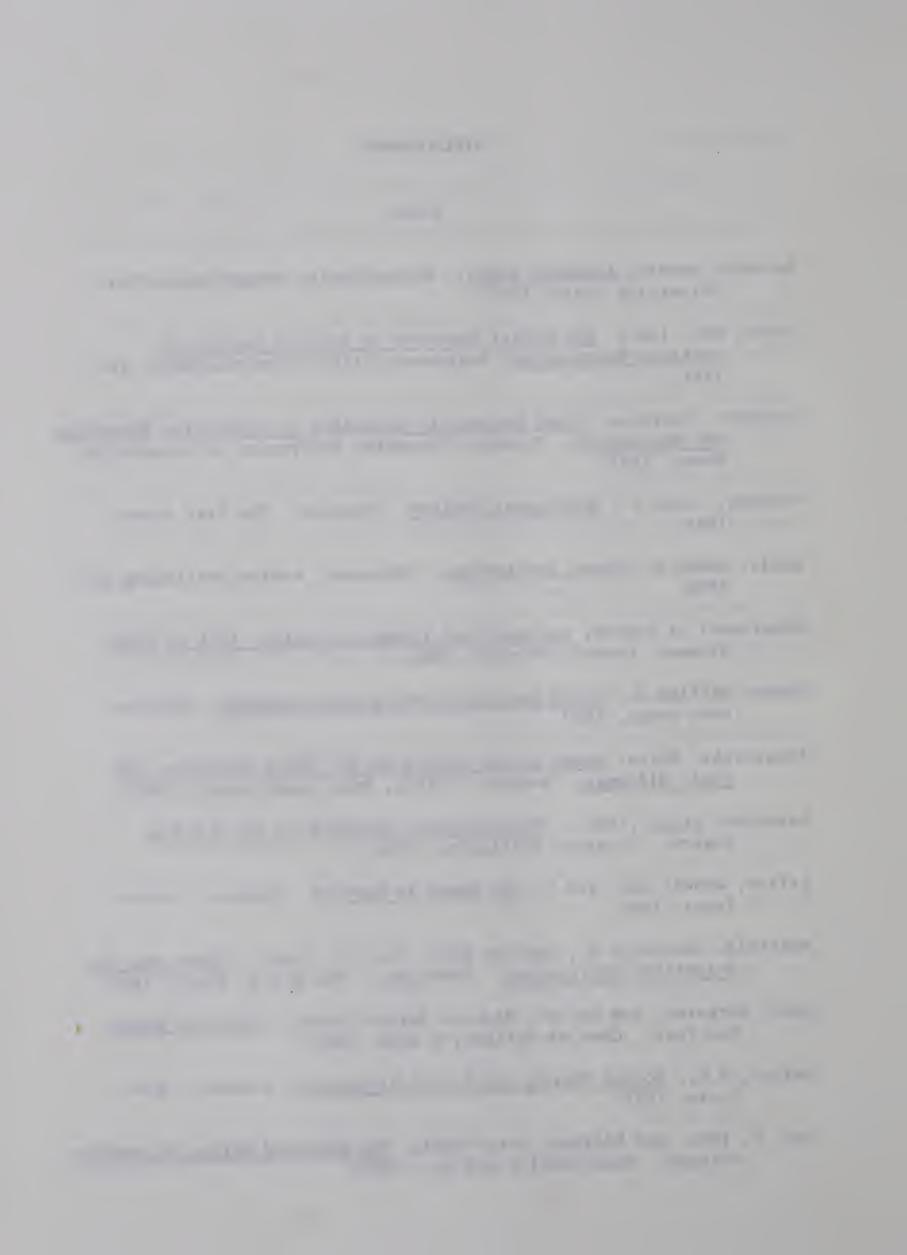
With respect to the theoretical scheme developed, the idea of range of reference relationships has intriguing possibilities as an explanatory variable — if the concept can be redefined and operationalized. This variable, together with the similarity variables, is indicative of the consistency or lack of it in an individual's conceptual world. A scheme based on all of these variables has interesting possibilities as an indicator or predictor of potential change. For example, a person who has a consistent conceptual world (involving similarities between (a) the expectations he perceives from others, (b) the behavior of his role models, and (c) his own behavior) is not as likely to change as one who experiences inconsistencies. Exploration of the patterns of similarity and dissimilarity which act on the direction and effectiveness of socialization could be a useful key to understanding.

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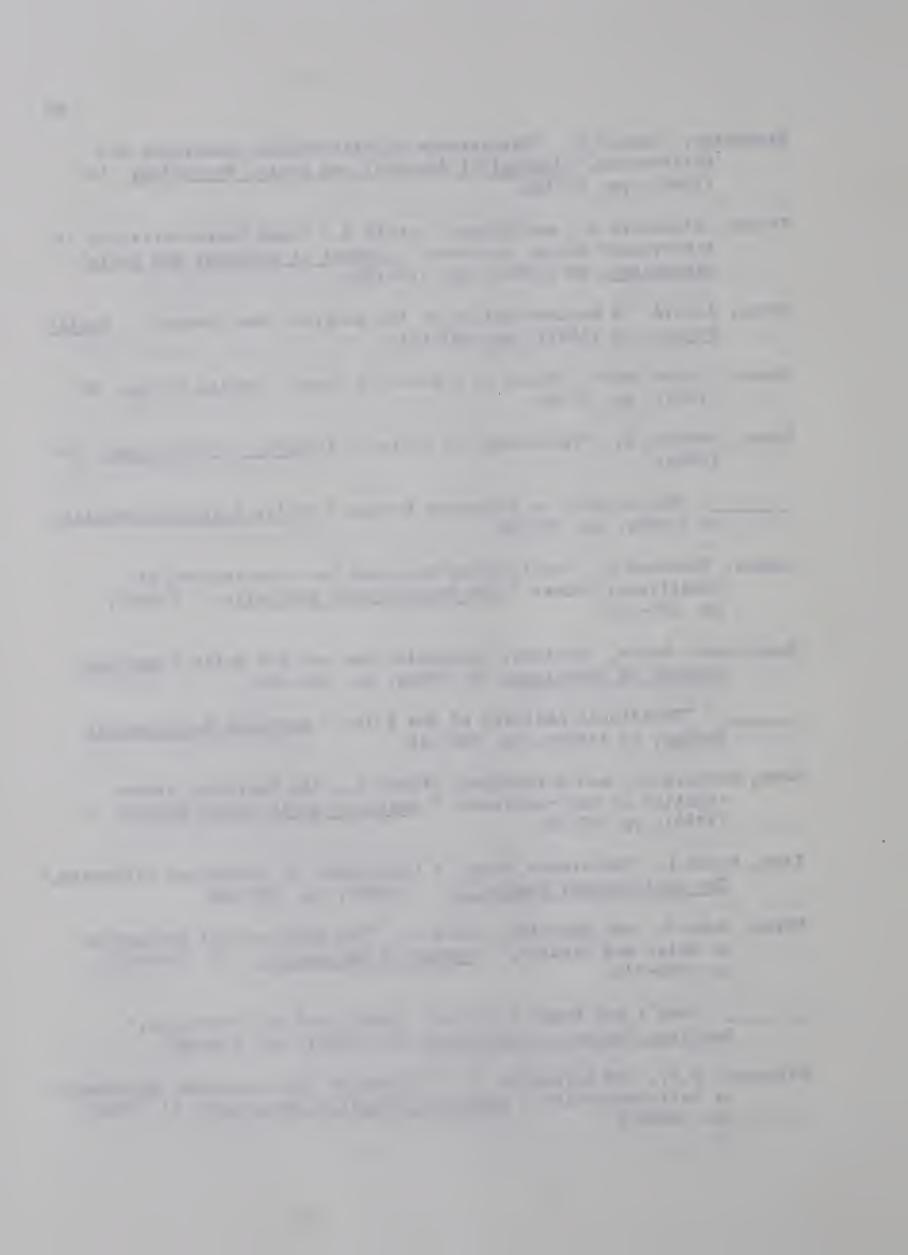
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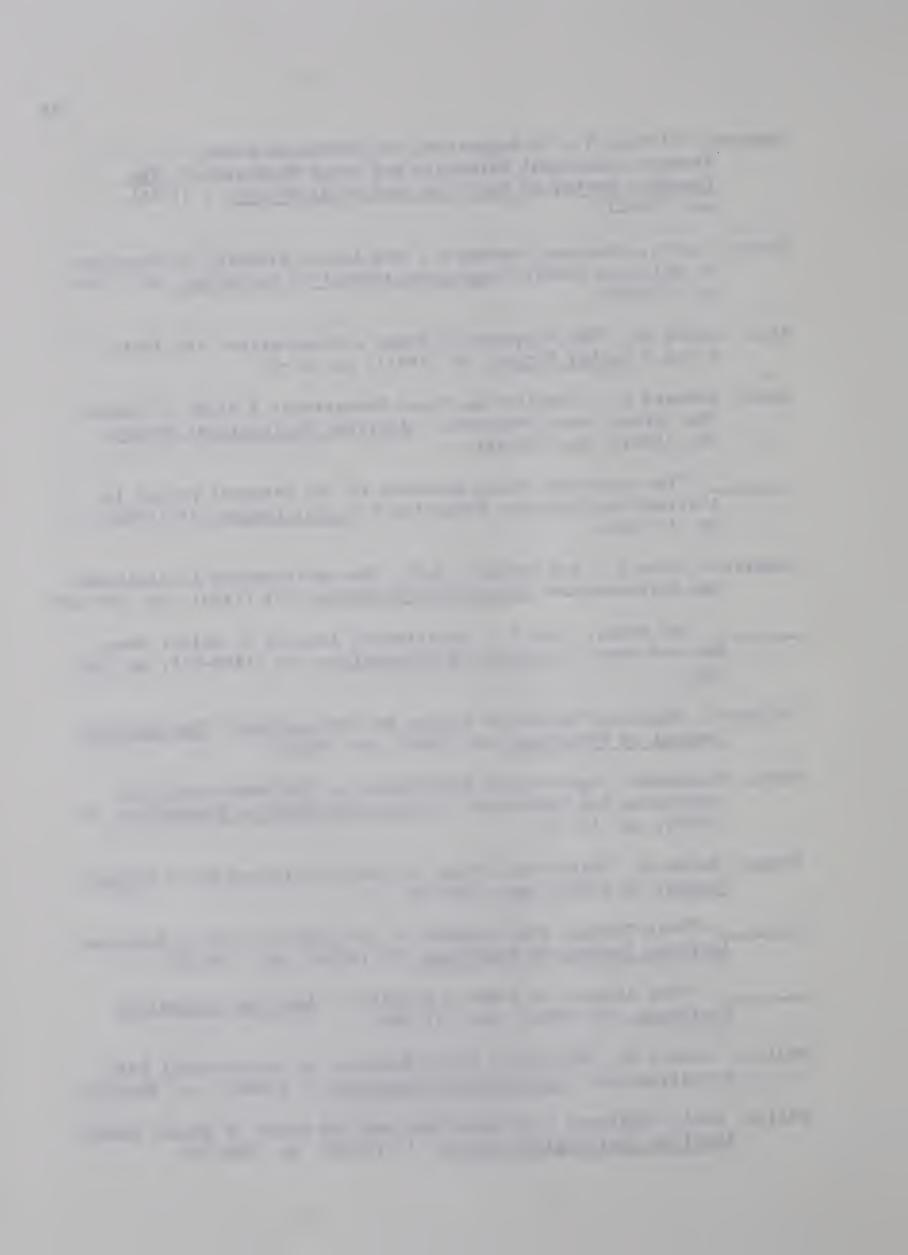
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APPENDIX A

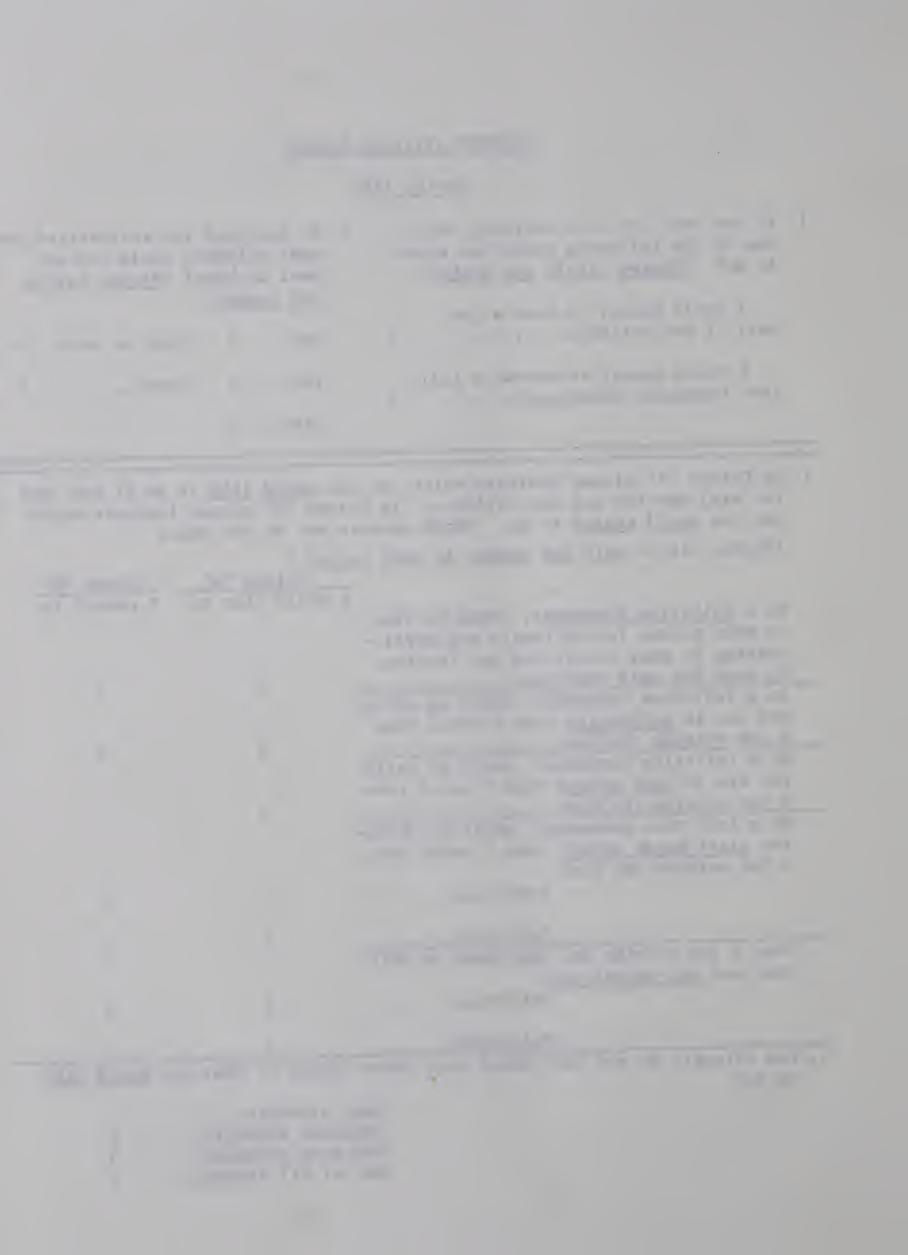
THE QUESTIONNAIRE



STUDENT ATTITUDE SURVEY

Spring 1967

1.	If you were (or are) may one of the following we to do? (Please circle I would expect to have	ould you expect one number)	many ch	nildren wo have? (]	are)married,h ould you ex - <u>Please</u> <u>circle</u>	OW
	until I had children		One	1 For	ur or more4	
	I would expect to be time homemaker immedia		Two		ne 5	
			Three	3		
3.	In Column "A" please in (or are) married and had one you would expect to	ad children. In o do. (Both answ	Column "B" ers may be	please in	ndicate which	
	(Please circle only one	e number in each		an ''A''	Column "B"	
			I would 1		I expect to:	
	Be a <u>full-time homemake</u> to make a home for my	family and partic				
	ipating in many activit	_	,		1	
	no need for paid employ Be a full-time homemake ren are in university	er, until my chil	.d-		1	
	a job outside the home			<u>,</u>	2	
	Be a full-time homemakeren are in high school	er, until my chil	.d-			
	a job outside the home			}	3	
	Be a full-time homemakeren start grade school					
	a job outside the home:					
		Part-time		ŀ	4	
		Full-time	5		5	
	Take a job outside the	-	.1.			
	dren are pre-school age	≧: Part-time	6		6	
		I GILL CIMC.	••		· ·	
		Full-time			7	
4.	How strongly do you fee to do?	≘l about your abo	ve choice o	of what yo	ou <u>would like</u>	
			Very strong	_		
			Somewhat st Not very st	~ -		
			Not at all			



5. Which of the following did your mot do? (Please circle the <u>one number</u>	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
She was a full-time home	maker 1
She was a full-time home children were in univers	ity then she
	e home 2
She was a full-time home children were in high sc	
began to work outside th	e home 3
She was a full-time home children were in grade s began to work outside th	chool then she
	Part-time 4
	Full-time 5
She began to work outsid	
her children were pre-sc	Part-time 6
She did some outside wor after she had children b	out not on any
regular basis. She was full-time homemaker	generally a 8
6. How has your mother felt about the	above role which she followed?
	satisfied
	what satisfied 2 what dissatisfied 3
Very	dissatisfied 4
7. How do you feel about the above role followed by your mother?	8. How has your father felt about the above role followed by your mother?
Strongly approve 1	Strongly approve 1
Somewhat approve 2 Somewhat disapprove 3	Somewhat approve 2 Somewhat disapprove 3
Strongly disapprove 4	Strongly disapprove 4
9. Has your father (or step-father) be portion of your family's income?	en responsible for earning the major
Yes	1 No 2

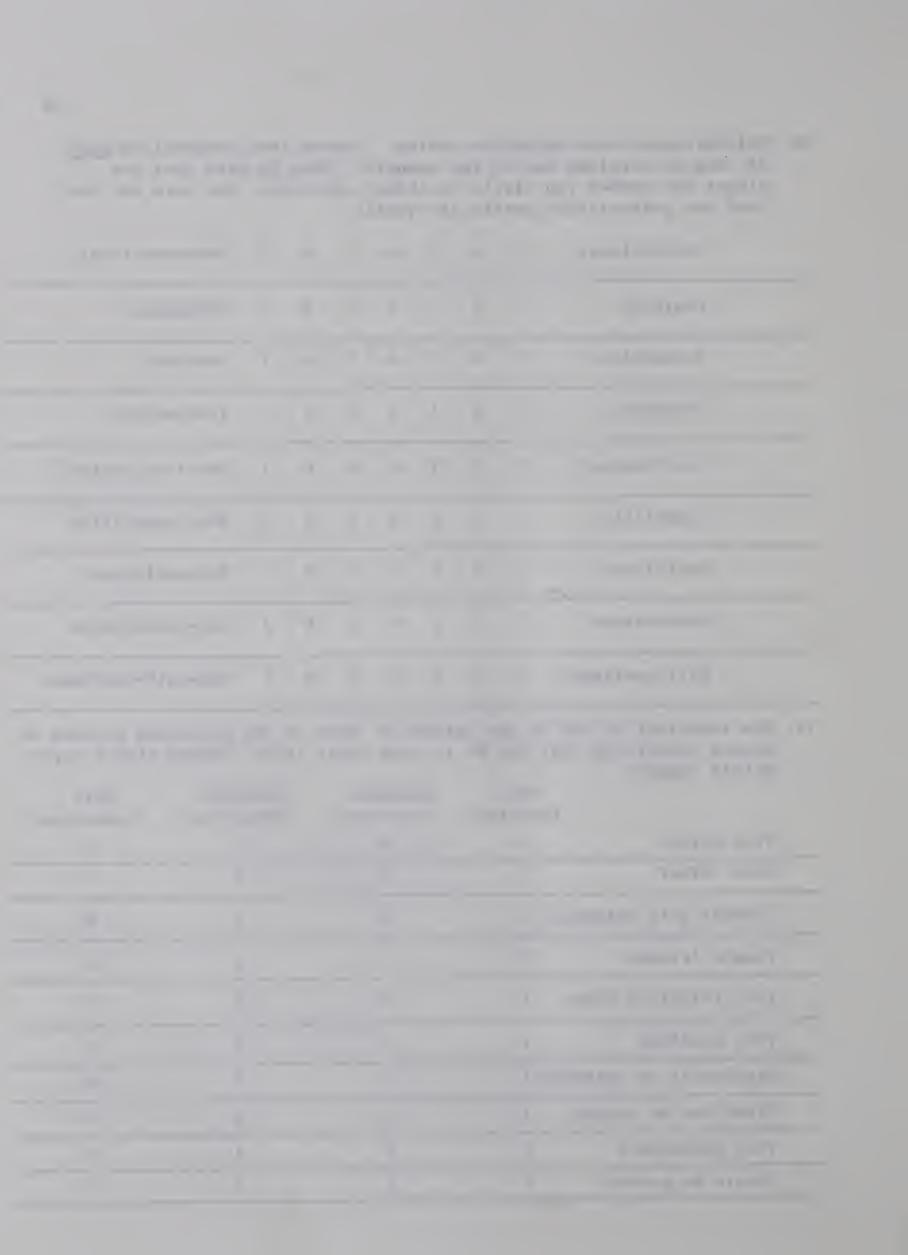


10. Following are nine adjective scales. Please rate yourself on <u>each</u> of them by circling one of the numbers. Keep in mind that the closer the number you circle to either adjective, the more you feel that you possess that particular quality.

Conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unconventional
Feminine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unfeminine
Submissive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dominant
Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Independent
Intellectual	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Non-intellectual
Competitive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Non-competitive
Ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Non-ambitious
Adventurous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Non-adventurous
Self-confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Non-self-confident

11. How important to you is the opinion of each of the following persons or groups concerning what you do in your adult life? (Please circle appropriate number)

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat Unimportant	Very Unimportant
Your mother	1	2	3	4
Your father	1	2	3	4
Closest male friend	(s) 1	2	3	4
Female friends	1	2	3	4
Your religious group	1	2	3	4
Your hometown	1	2	3	4
Brother(s) or sister	(s)1	2	3	4
Clubs you've joined	1	2	3	4
Your professors	1	2	3	4
People in general	1	2	3	4

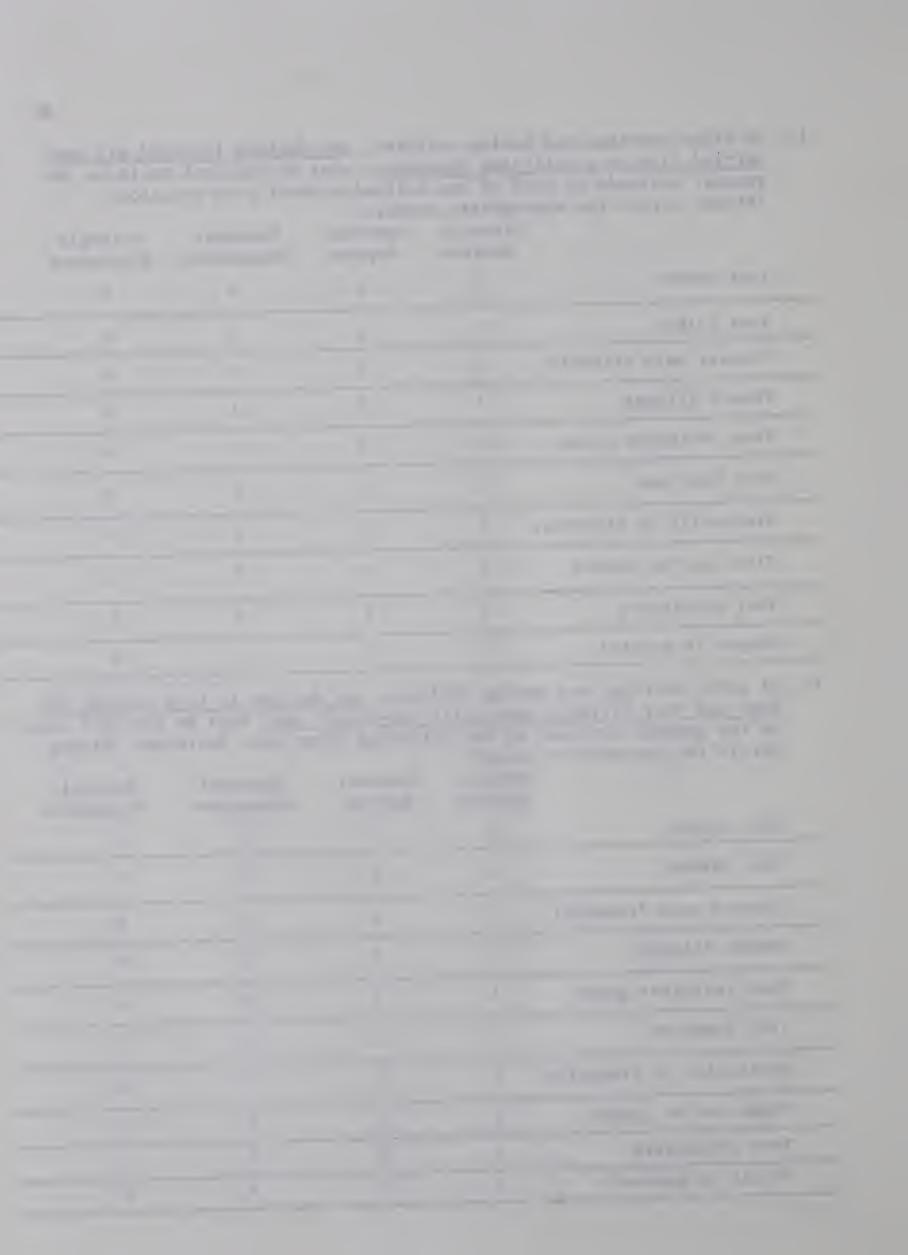


12. If after marriage and having children, you decided to spend all your married life as a full-time homemaker, what do you feel would be the general attitude of each of the following about your decision? (Please circle the appropriate number)

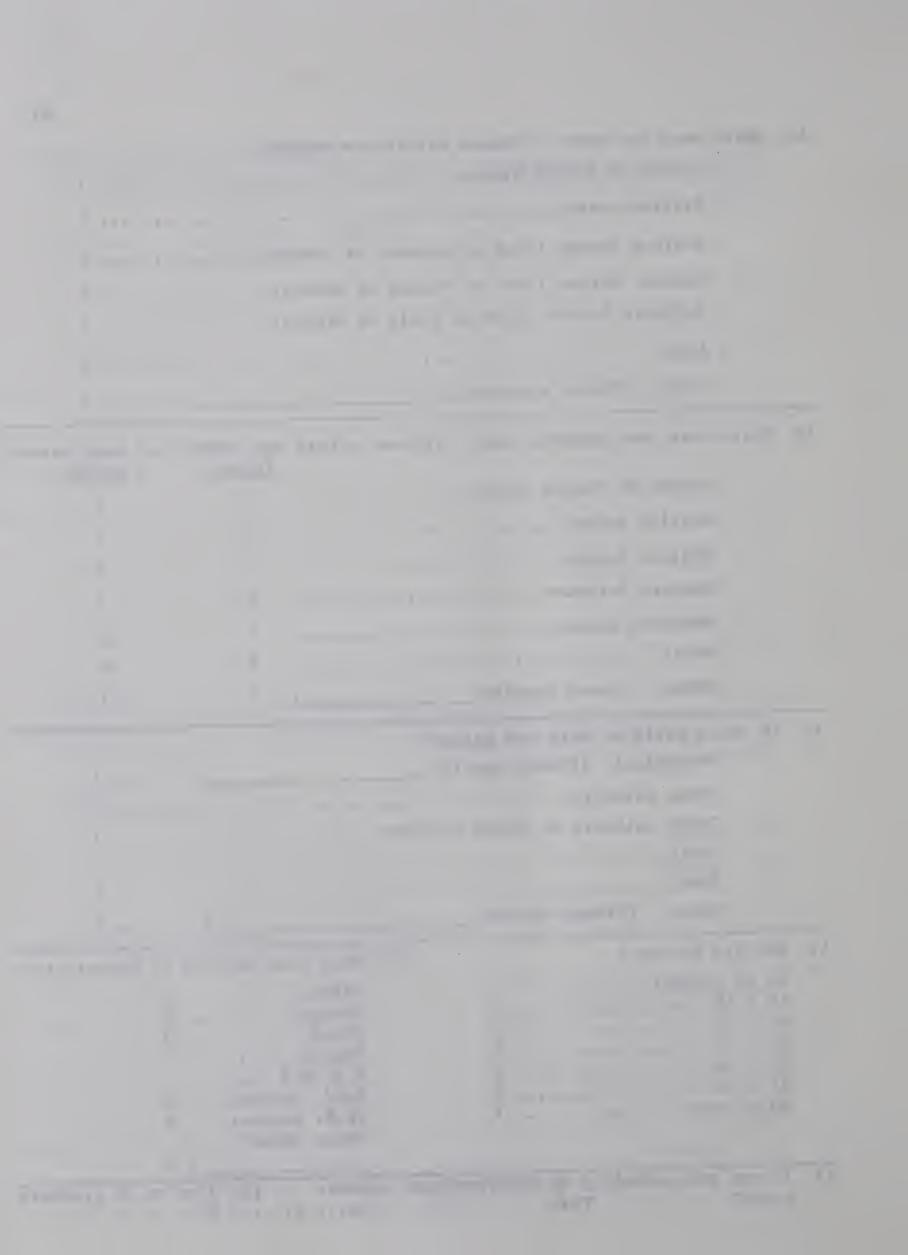
	Strongly Approve	Somewhat Approve	Somewhat Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove
Your mother	1	2	3	4
Your father	1	2	3	4
Closest male friend(s)	1	2	3	4
Female friends	1	2	3	4
Your religious group	1	2	3	4
Your hometown	1	2	3	4
Brother(s) or sister(s)) 1	2	3	, 4
Clubs you've joined	1	2	3	4
Your professors	1	2	3	4
People in general	1	2	3	4

13. If after marriage and having children, you decided to work outside the home and your children were still pre-school age, what do you feel would be the general attitude of the following about your decision? (Please circle the appropriate number)

Your mother Your father	1	2	3	/.
Your father	1			4
	1	2	3	4
Closest male friend(s)	1	2	3	4
Female friends	1	2	3	4
Your religious group	1	2	3	4
Your hometown	1	2	3	4
Brother(s) or sister(s	3) 1	2	3	4
Clubs you've joined	1	2	3	4
Your professors	1	2	3	4
People in general	1	2	3	4



14.	Where	were you born? (Ple	ase circle one	e number)			
		Canada or United Sta					
		British Isles	• • • • • • • • • • • • • •		• • • • • • • • •	2	
		Western Europe (such					
		Eastern Europe (such					
		Southern Europe (suc	h as Italy or	Greece).	• • • • • • • • •	5	
		Asia	• • • • • • • • • • •		• • • • • • • • •	6	
		Other (Please speci	fy:)	7	
15.	Where	were your parents bo	rn? (Please o		e number fo	or each pare <u>Mother</u>	ent)
		Canada or United Sta	tes	• • • • • •	1	1	
		British Isles	• • • • • • • • • • • • •		2	2	
		Western Europe	• • • • • • • • • • • •		3	3	
		Eastern Europe	• • • • • • • • • • • • •		4	4	
		Southern Europe	• • • • • • • • • • • • •		5	5	
		Asia	• • • • • • • • • • • • •		6	6	
		Other (Please speci	fy:)	7	7	
16.	In wh:	ch religion were you	raised?				
		Protestant (Please	specify:)	1	
		Roman Catholic	• • • • • • • • • • • • •		• • • • • • • •	2	
		Greek Catholic or Gr	eek Orthodox.			3	
		Jewish	• • • • • • • • • • • •			4	
		None	• • • • • • • • • • • • •		• • • • • • • •	5	
		Other (Please spec	ify:)	6	
17.	How o	ld are you?	18.	What year	r are you	in Universi	ty?
		younger					
		19 21					
		24		M.A.,M.S		'	
		29			ıdent	5	
		over		Ph.D. stu	ıdent (5	
				Other (W		7	
		·				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
19.		are currently an un	,		•	to do gradi	ıate
	study'	Yes	1	No	2		

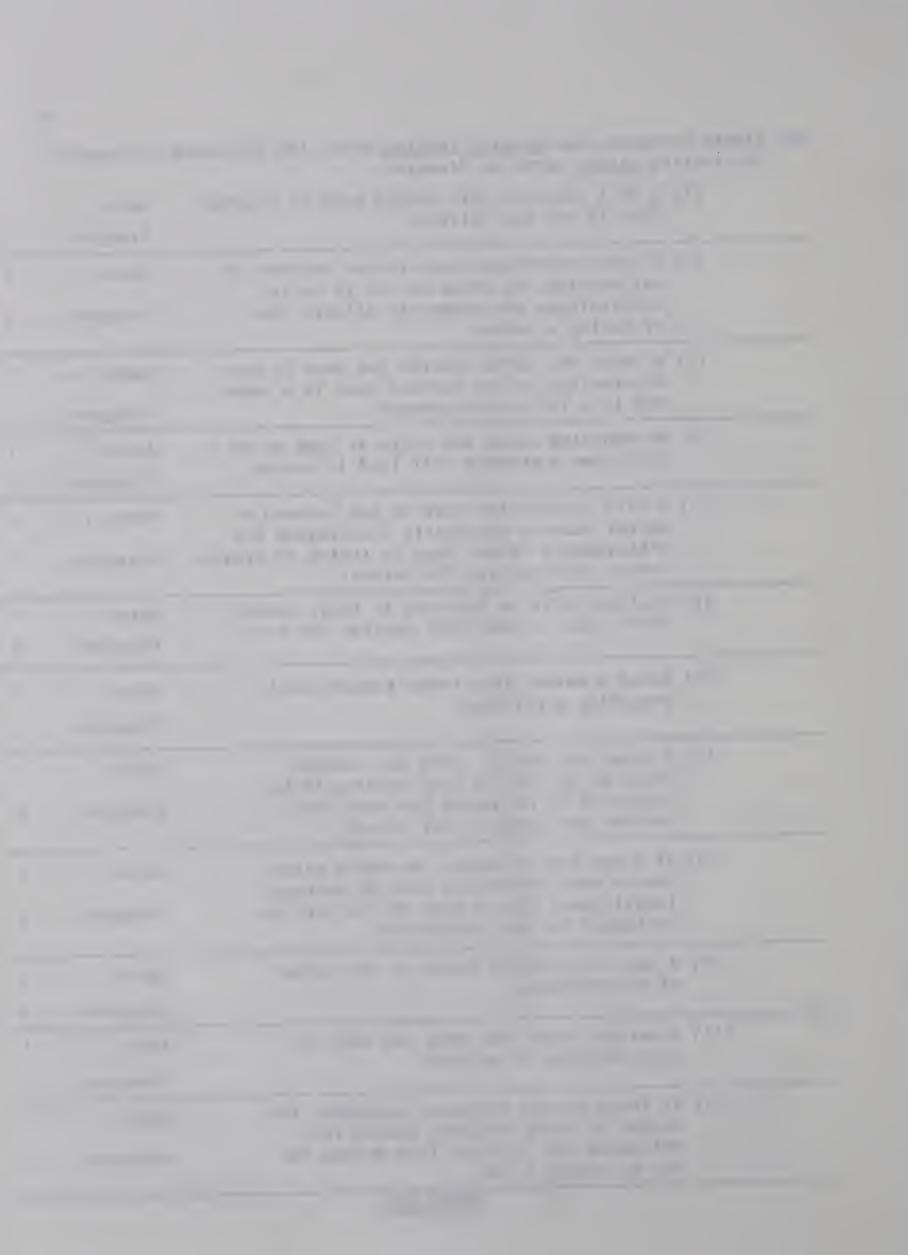


20.	(Do <u>not</u> include business or trade training)	nts
	<u>Father</u> <u>Mother</u>	
	Grade 6 or less 1 1	
	Grade 7 - 9 2 2	
	Some high school	
	High school graduate 4 4	
	Some university work 5 5	
	University graduate 6 6	
	Two or more university degrees 7 7	
21.	Which of the following categories best describes your father's usual occupation? (Please circle one number)	
	Managerial or Professional (examples: owner or executive of large business, medical doctor, or lawyer)	1
	Semi-Professional (examples: school teacher, nurse, accountant, owner or manager of small business)	2
	<u>Clerical and Sales</u> (examples: office worker, or salesman)	3
	<u>Skilled</u> (examples: electrician, or foreman)	4
	Semi-skilled or Unskilled (example: machine operator)	5
	Farmer:	
	with small size farm	6
	with average size farm	7
	with large farm	8
	Other (Please specify:)	9
22.	If your mother is employed, which of the following categories best describes her occupation? (Please circle one number)	
	Managerial or Professional (examples: large business owner or lawyer)	1
	Semi-Professional (examples: teacher, nurse)	2
	Clerical and Sales (example: general office work or sales)	3
	Skilled (example: factory technician)	4
		5
	Other (Please specify:)	6
) ————————————————————————————————————	

23.	In which size town have you lived most of your life?(Please circle one number)
	On a farm with the closest town having a population of under 25,000
	On a farm with the closest town having a population of over 25,000
	In a community of under 500 3
	In a town of 500 to 10,000 4
	In a city of 10,000 to 25,000 5
	In a city of 25,000 to 50,000
	In a city of 50,000 to 100,000 7
	In a city of over 100,000 people 8
24.	Please circle the area of your major. (If you have not declared a major yet, indicate the most probable area.)
	Humanities or Fine Arts 1
	Social or Psychological Science 2
	Nursing 3
	Education 4
	Household Economics 5
	Medical Services (such as Pharmacy, Rehab. Med., etc.) 6
	Natural Science 7
	Physical Science 8
	Other (Please specify:) 9
25.	Considering the occupation for which your major field prepares you, it is
	an occupation in which there are more females than males
	an occupation filled about evenly by males and females
	an occupation in which there are more males than females 3
26.	Please circle one: Are you 27. Which of the following best describes where you lived this year?
	Engaged 2 Dormitory 1
	Married 3 With parents 2
	Separated or divorced 4 Fraternity 3
	Widowed 5 Off-campus housing 4



	dicate your <u>general feeling</u> about the following ng <u>either</u> agree or disagree.	statements	
(1)	A well educated wife should work on a career	Agree	1
 _	even if she has children.	Disagree	2
(2)	A wife contributes more to the success of her marriage by being active in social	Agree	1
	entertaining and community affairs than by having a career.	Disagree	2
(3)	A woman who works outside the home is more interesting to her husband than is a woman	Agree	
 	who is a full-time homemaker.	Disagree	2
(4)	An educated woman who stays at home to be a	Agree	1
	full-time homemaker will find it boring.	Disagree	2
(5)	A wife contributes more to her husband's career success by quietly encouraging his	Agree	1
	achievements rather than by trying to attain career achievements for herself.	Disagree	2
(6)	Children will be deprived if their mothers	Agree	1
	leave them to take jobs outside the home.	Disagree	2
(7)	Being a mother is a woman's most highly rewarding experience.	Agree	1
		Disagree	2
(8)	A woman who really loved her husband would be willing to stop working if he	Agree	1
	requested it no matter how much satis- faction she found in her career.	Disagree	2
(9)	If a man had to choose, he would rather have a very attractive wife of average	Agree	1
	intelligence than a wife who is very intelligent but not attractive.	Disagree	2
(10)	A man owes special honor to the mother	Agree	1
	of his children.	Disagree	2
(11)	A married woman who does not want to	Agree	1
	have children is selfish.	Disagree	2
(12)	If there are no financial problems, the mother of young children should feel	Agree	1
	obligated not to leave them during the day by taking a job.	Disagree	2
	THANK YOU		



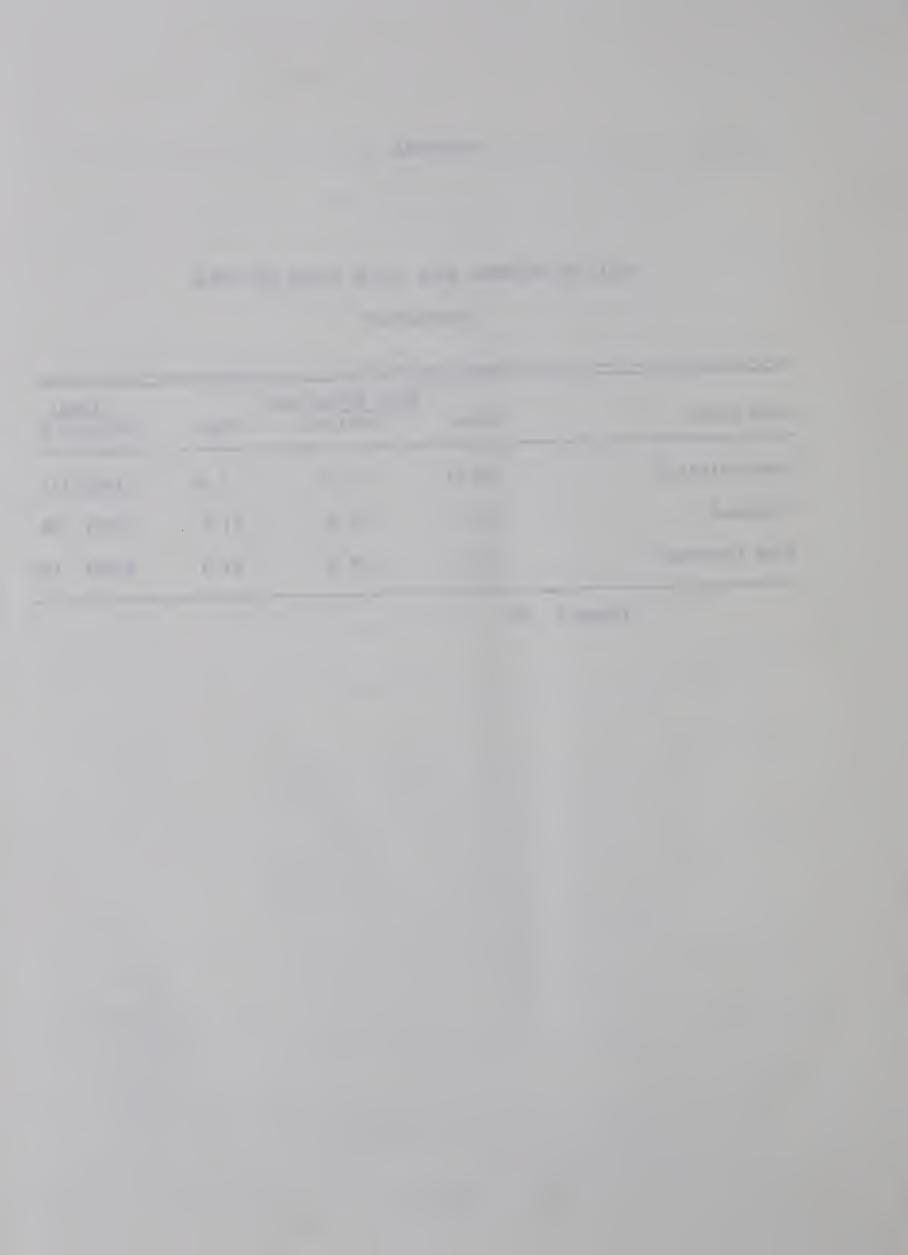
APPENDIX B

RELATION BETWEEN ROLE SCALE SCORE AND ROLE

PREFERENCE

Role Scale	Home R	ole Preference Combined	Work	Total Percent N
Home Oriented	58.1%	32.5%	9.4%	(100) 117
Combined	32.4	46.0	21.6	(100) 139
Work Oriented	10.2	28.5	61.3	(100) 137

Gamma = .64





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